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THE TRAVELS

OF

PETER MUNDY.

VOL. III.

PART II.

SECOND SERIES.

No. XLVI.

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THE TRAVELS
OF
PETER MUNDY,
IN EUROPE AND ASIA,
1608–1667.

EDITED BY
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ROUND THE BAY OF BENGAL."

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TRAVELS IN ENGLAND, INDIA, CHINA, ETC.
1634–1638.

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RELATION XXVII.

OUR DEPARTURE FROM MACAO IN CHINA, OUR TOUTCHING ATT MALLACCA AND ARRIVAL AT ACHEIN ON THE ILAND OF SUMATRA, *VIZ* [1]:

Our Departure From Macao: Portugall passengers on our shippes.

December Anno 1637. Beeing as beforementioned Driven off the shoare with all that wee had att Macao by the Portugalls, As allso outt of the Country by the Chinois, leaving beehinde us in their hands att Cantan a good Cavidall[2], The *Catherine* Dispeeded For India and the little *Anne* (beeing Much deffective) sold unto the Spaniards afforesaid[3]. The *Dragon* and *Sunne* sett saille From our First rode within 3 leagues off Macao. The Former had aboard off her Nere 140 Portugalls, Mestizoes [half-breeds], Servauntts, etts., with an unknowne treasure, All come withoutt the knowledge and Consent off the Captaine Generall (except some Churchmen and one Don Goncalo el Silvera with his retinue, who had his licence)[4], beeing bound For sundry parts,

[1] The full headline in the MS. to this *Relation* is "China Voiage Homeward bound From Macao in China unto Achein on Sumatra."

[2] See *ante*, note on p. 301. [3] See *ante*, note [4] on p. 272.

[4] Dom Gonçalo da Silveira. In his letter of 27th December 1637 to the Viceroy (Appendix E), Domingos da Camara says that Silveira embarked with the English against his orders and that his example caused many others to ignore the proclamation forbidding any Portuguese to take passage in the English fleet. The reason given for Silveira's disobedience was the bad state of his health and his need of change of air.

as Mallacca, Cochin, Goa, etts., And durst not, as they Confesse themselves, goe on their owne vessells For Fear off the Hollander.

The 30th December [1637]. Wee past by the Galleon of Mannilla[1]. Wee gave her 5 gunnes, the *Sunne* 3, and shee answeared us with 11, the winds somwhatt Calme and the weather warme, allthough wee Found it very colde this Month, especially if the winde blow hard, which usually att this tyme off the yeare commeth outt of the North[2].

Note thatt I adde unto December the Distance beetweene Tayffoo and our First rode Neare Macao, accompting our returne homeward From the said Tayffoo, which was the Farthest our Fleete was att this voyage.

Abstracte of part of December 1637.

	Miles
From Tayffoo or cloven Iland[3] to our First rode by Macao	50
29. Wee wayed From Near Macao	9
30. From yesterday Noone to this	23
31. W. Longitude from Monton de Trigo[4]	60
Gon to the last of this Month the some of miles	143 [*sic*]

A Storme : lost our longboate.

January 1637 [1638]. Monday, the First Day of the Yeare, Month and Weeke, wee had very Much winde, which by Nightt grew to a storme, Soe thatt before

[1] See *ante*, *Relation* XXVI. p. 251.

[2] The prevailing winter wind, corresponding to the N.E. Monsoon of India and the Bay of Bengal. Dunn, *East India Directory*, p. 49, says that "The variable winds [in the China Sea] perfectly resemble those in the Bay of Bengal."

[3] For Tai-fu or Tiger Island. See *ante*, pp. 219, 233. The name Cloven Island, which Mundy always gives as a rendering of the Chinese word, was doubtless applied to the place by the English on account of its formation.

[4] See *ante*, *Relation* XXIV. p. 158.

day wee were faine to Cutte off our longboate From our sterne, beeing allmost Full of water, having First saved our Men outt of her, who could not keepe her Free, Soe cutt one of her seizons[1] (another, the biggest, broken butt a little beeffore) and lett her goe. The same nightt the *Sunnes* longboate allsoe brake away, butt lost nobody.

The 3d January[2] [1638]. One Hubert, a Dutchman, a proper lusty honest fellow, Fell outt of the *Sunnes* Mayne toppe into the Sea (which was then somwhatt growne) and could nott bee saved, Soe they Flung a Canne boy[3] overboard to him (butt whither hee gotte to itt att last or noe they cannott tell) and lefft him to try For his liffe a while[4]. The said shippe *Sunne* hath bin Noted hitherto to have prooved somwhatt unfortunate in her Men, etts., For shee brought outt off England 132, wherof to this Day 52 Dead by sicknesse, 4 Drowned, 1 killed and 9 run away: in all 66; the Just halffe of her company Dead and Fledde.

The 4th January [1638]. Beeing thicke and Dusty[5], wee made land some 4 Miles off[6]. Last Nightt One, goodman Anthony, in our shippe the *Dragon*, going over the quarter to heave the logge, Fell by the Board, and crying, "O lord, O lord," was no More heard offe, itt beeing Nightt, the shippe with very fresh way, allthough noe greatt Sea, yett was it impossible to save him att that tyme, beeing (as some said) hee could nott swymme att all[7]. Hee was Found to bee a very laborious, careffull

[1] Seizing, seizen, an obsolete nautical term for a rope for attaching a boat to a ship.

[2] The MS. has "December," but in the margin there is a note, "I say January."

[3] A large cone-shaped buoy. See the *O.E.D.*, *s.v.* Can-buoy.

[4] Here is a marginal note, "A Dutch Man Fallen over board left in the Sea From the *Sunne*."

[5] Misty. The *O.E.D.* has no example of this signification.

[6] Probably Cape Turon, or North Cape, a headland of Annam.

[7] Here is a marginal note, "An Englishman lost outt of the *Dragon* Fallen allsoe overboarde."

honest Man, yett taken away on a Sodaine on unexpected Death comming alik to all Impartiall; And thus wee beegin our New yeare. God grauntt the Following part proove better.

The 5th [January 1638]. In the Morning wee wer within 2 leagues off the shoare on the Coast of Cauchin-china, Next adjoyning to China this way, and hath a King off it selffe[1].

What Sumatraes are.

The 11th Ditto. Aboutt One of the Clocke in the Morning Wee saw the Iland of Pulo Tymoane[2], aboutt 2 leagues off, having [by] this tyme Crossed the Gulffe of Camboja, and had much Raine, gusts and thicke weather, which our Portugalls said is usuall in these parts att this tyme off the yeare. And beecause such weather is incidentt to the Ile of Sumatra, thereffore such gusts, etts. are here awaies by the Portugalls Named Sumatraes[3].

Jillee Jillees with store offe good reffreshing.

Wee past along by the said Pulo Tymoane, and thatt Day stayed a while by Pulo La ore [Awar][4], where came to us From the shoare Many Jilly Jillies[5], beeing those pretty little boates which I Formerly Mentioned[6], which broughtt reffreshing, *viz.*, Goates, hennes, Coconutts,

---

[1] See *ante*, note on p. 154. [2] See *Relation* XXIV. p. 151.

[3] See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Sumatra, for quotations from 1616 to 1843 describing the sudden squalls, so termed for the reason stated by Mundy.

[4] See *Relation* XXIV. p. 149.

The spelling in the text is a further interesting contribution to the history of the word Gallevat. See a long note on the subject in Bowrey, ed. Temple, p. 140. See also *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Gallevat, where Colonel Yule thinks the form *jalia* is adapted by Arabs from a word in use in the Mediterranean.

[6] See *Relation* XXIV. pp. 149—150.

Plantaines, Pineapples or Ananasses, Sugar Canes, Orenges, Water Millions [melons], Jacks[1] and Pumpeons[2].

3 Dutch vessells mett withall: Whatt Newes they told us. What they required off us.

The 12th January [1638]. Wee passed within halffe a Mile off Piedra branca[3], and this Day wee mett with 3 Dutch vessells who told us thatt Frome Europe there was Newes thatt the shippe *Palsgrave* beelonguing to the East India company was Cast away aboutt the West Country in England[4], And a Portugall Carracke com From India was lost Near att home[5]; thatt Sir William Courteene was Dead[6]; thatt there were 17 saile off Hollande[r]s before Goa[7] and 9 in the Straightts off Mallacca; And withall shewing us a lettre From there Generall att Battavia[8], wherein hee Desired us to Deliver uppe to them whatt Portugalls and goods off theirs wee had in our Custody.

Our passengers stowed.

Wee Denyed thatt wee had either one or other, having Caused the Portugalls, Mestizoes, servauntts,

[1] See *Relation* XXI. p. 57.

[2] Pumpeon, pompion, from obs. Fr. *pompon*, a large melon, pumpkin.

[3] See *Relation* XXIV. p. 148.

[4] The *Palsgrave* was wrecked off Plymouth in the autumn of 1636. See *Court Minutes*, 1635—1639, p. xx.

[5] This vessel was probably one of the fleet in which the Conde de Linhares sailed from Goa to Portugal in 1636. Her loss, within sight of Lisbon, is mentioned in a letter from the Viceroy of Goa to the President of Surat, dated 21st November 1637 N.S. See *Lisbon Transcripts, Books of the Monsoons, Translations*, vol. XI.

[6] Sir William Courteen died 27th May 1636.

[7] Goa had been strictly blockaded by a Dutch fleet ever since the departure of Courteen's factors in January 1637. See Danvers, *Portuguese in India*, II. 262, for the Dutch attempts to take the place in October 1637 and January 1638.

[8] The Dutch Governor-General of Batavia at this period was Antoni van Diemen. See Valentyn, I. (*Levens der Opper-landvoogden*, p. 294.

Friers and all to bee close stowed, thatt Nothing Mightt appeare when they [the Dutch] came aboard. Wee Followed them to goe through another large straighte or passage among them [*sic*] Ilands, butt Night comming on, wee all came to anchor somwhatt short off itt. From hence one off their Consorts Made away with all the saile shee could, through wee riding still all Nightt.

We went through the Governors Straight.

The 13th Ditto. Wee allsoe went through, Finding the passage very safe and spacious, beeing aboutt 4 Miles over at the Narrowest, called Estreito del Governador[1], the other 2 Dutch vessells attending uppon us.

2 Dutch shippes more came to us: in all 5 saile.

Aboutt 3 of the Clocke in the afternoone wee discried other 3 vessells comming towards us. Thatt nightt they came uppe with us, they beeing allso Hollanders. They desired us to Anchor untill Day, which wee Did.

They Demaund our passengers and their goods[2].

The 14th January [1638]. They sentt us a lettre requiring us to Deliver uppe into their hands their enemies and goods, according to the law off our Nations;

[1] The passage now known as the Straits of Singapore bore the name given to it by Mundy until long after his time. Hamilton, whose *New Account of the East Indies* was published in 1744, has "Straits of Governdore" in his map facing p. 92 of vol. II. and on pp. 122—123 of the same vol. he distinguishes between the two Straits thus:—"Between the small Carimon and Tanjong-bellong on the Continent, is the Entrance of the Streights of Sincapure before-mentioned, and also into the Streights of Governadore, the largest and easiest Passage into the China Seas." As late as 1805 the name "Governor Strait" appears on one of Dalrymple's charts. The passage was called Estreito do Governador by the Portuguese in honour of Dom João da Silva, the Spanish governor of Manila who passed through it shortly after its alleged discovery in 1615. See Gerini, *Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia*, p. 534 *n.*

[2] A marginal note in the MS. adds: "Their proffession in a Freindly way; if not accepted, then to Doe their best perforce."

thatt they were enformed by our owne people off the Number off the Portugalls, the quantity and quallity off their goodes wee had aboard, profferinge largesse, as Fraightt gratuities, to our principall Commaunders and common Men, and would protest against us if wee reffused. Moreover, thatt they had commission From their generall att Battavia to search any shippe, bee whome they would, thatt came thatt way, For their enemies and their goodes. Thereffore they Desired itt as Freinds; otherwise they had order to compell us or sincke by our Sides.

A privat commission ends the controversy.

Some howres past in Debating and controverting the Matter, whilst wee Fitted ourselves For Deffence, etts. the best wee could, beeing very much pestred [encumbered, overloaded] beetweene the Deckes[1]. At length our admirall produced a private Commission From his Majesty, wherin was given him warrantt and power thatt in case wee should receave any Discourteous usage From the Portugalls or others, then to rightt our selves on them and their goodes; And therefore by vertue therof and For wrongs receaved From the Portugalls, hee [had] possessed himselffe of them and their goods (bee they whome or whatt itt would) In his Majesties name and For the use off our Imployers. This with other writings were shewen them and thatt wee would protest against them if they did Molest us.

A Doubtfull case.

In Fine, they rested satisfied and the matter was taken uppe [amicably arranged][2]. Otherwise it had bin

[1] In Weddell's own account of the voyage (*O.C.* 1662), he says that after he had agreed to carry passengers from Macao to Cochin, "they overlaid us with goods."

[2] Mundy's story of this encounter with the Dutch differs somewhat from the versions of the affair given in *O.C.* 1662 and in the *Continuation*

very hard however it had gon, For wee must have putt itt either to the hazard off a Fightt or Deliver uppe the poore Portugalls and their goods in to the hand off their Mortall enemies.

For the First there was Disadvauntage and Daunger, 5 well provided nimble shippes (allthough butt smalle) against 2 much pestred. And should wee have gott the Mastery, yett would there bee no saffety For us in all these seas. And if wee were overcome, then should wee Forffaict unto them our selves and shippes, goodes and passengers.

For the second, It would have bin imputed unto us as of inhumaine (and by many off treacherous) Dealing, their beeing Nere 140 persons, and by estimation no lesse then 150000 *li.* sterling in gold, Musk, silke, etts.

Then to the First point againe. Most off our company were unwilling to Fightt with the Hollanders, allthough proffered $\frac{1}{6}$ part off the Portugalls goods, the rest to bee reserved For our Imployers in recompence of Wrongs receaved and Damages susteyned by them. This I say was Motioned and proffered in case wee had Foughtt

---

of the China Voyage. In the former, Weddell says the demand for delivering up the Portuguese was made on the 13th January, and that he replied: "Forasmuch as they had putt themselves under the Kinge of Englands banner, I Could not deliver them up to them nor their goods." He adds: "Much trouble we had with them for the space of 3 dayes . . . They . . . dropped notes in our shippes that if wee would not fight with them they would give our men $\frac{1}{2}$ the Portingalls estate; soe that all our scottish men denied to fight. But I answered the Dutch Comaunder that if his Comission were to take us, that he should begin with us and he should se what wee would doe; but after long discourse, the Comaunders Came all aboard of me, and soe we parted Frends."

According to the *Continuation of the China Voyage*, it was Captain Swanley and Thomas Robinson who went aboard the Dutch ships and showed the Royal Commission (See Appendix A, No. 2) to Courteen's factors, but that "when this would not Content them, they were tould that in part of satisfaction for our wrongs at Macau, wee had allready made seizure of them [the Portuguese] And would defend them to the death."

Neither of the above accounts alludes to the "privat Commission" which ended "the controversy." By this Mundy apparently means Charles I.'s letter to Weddell authorising him to take action against any who should use "Violence to any of the Shipps" under his command. See Appendix A, No. 5, and Appendix B, No. 1.

and came off clear, itt beeing the Companys order[1]; butt this would nott prevaile with Most off our people. Butt as before is said, all ended in a Freindly Manner[2]. They say they are to beseidge Mallacca this Year by Sea and land with the helpe off the Neighbour Nations. The Portugalls are att the loosing hand with them in all places in these parts.

Our Freindly parting att laste.

Aboutt 3 or 4 a clocke in the afternoone wee parted From them with Fiery (allthough Freindly) salutations off our Ordnance. It is said the common Men allsoe aboard the Dutch, beeing called uppe, denyed to Fightt against us.

The Dutch account of the foregoing incident. (Extract of a letter from the Governor General and Council for India to the Dutch East India Company, dated 22 Dec. 1638 N.S., *Hague Transcripts*, 1st Series, translations, vol. XI. No. CCCL.).

Our cruising vessels in the Straits of Malacca met three of the English ships on their way through that channel, the first (on January 12th [1638 N.S.]) being the *Catherine*, which having been inspected and neither Portuguese nor Portuguese merchandise being found on board, was allowed to continue her voyage without further interference. On January 22nd of the same month [N.S.] the *Dragon* and the *Sun* were sighted. On board were John Woddel

[1] By "the Company" Mundy apparently means the Dutch East India Company. But the text is confused.

[2] After narrating the amicable ending of the incident with the Dutch, Weddell remarks (*O.C.* 1662): "They have done us a Courtesie to shewe us a way through the newest streights, which is 3 miles broad the narrowest place, and they goe through as well by night as by daye." The *Continuation of the China Voyage* adds that the Dutch "departed to their lurking holes to waite for those that might happily come from Mallacca or India."

[Weddell] and Nathaniel Monteny. Our commander, Cornelius Symonsen, obliged these English vessels to drop their anchors. He twice requested the captains to deliver to him the Portuguese and their goods which they had on board, offering to pay them the freight money and an adequate remuneration besides. This request was refused under several frivolous pretexts. They preferred a claim against us for loss of trade and delay and declared that they would not deliver up the Portuguese until this claim was settled. In fact, they stated that their freight did not belong to the Portuguese but to them.

Captain Woddel, with the intention of inciting the Portuguese on board to take the matter into their own hands, ordered Monteny to confiscate their goods, so to say, to repay themselves for their trouble and expense. He opened a document from His Majesty the King of Great Britain giving him permission to carry Portuguese goods on freight and authorising him to defend such goods forcibly against whoever might oppose him. The same charter also gave him leave to resort to forcible measures should the Spanish or Portuguese refuse him admission into their ports. This letter having been read out to the crew, they promised to defend the ship with all she contained against Dutch aggression. A copy of the document having been handed to our commander, he resolved to desist from further interference. We had already given him instructions to avoid any hostile action against the English. In this way these two English ships were allowed to continue their voyage, and the rich prize, which otherwise we should have secured, has escaped us.

This occurrence has caused great delight to the Portuguese and to the English. It has increased the respect for the latter and has put us to shame. Their deceitful tricks have succeeded this time. They made us believe that they had a claim on these goods, but they have brought them safely to Malacca and Cochin and have made no mention of these pretended claims. The Portuguese are jubilant. They attach great importance to the services thus

rendered to them, and think they will in future have nothing to fear from us. The action of the English is against the law of nations, and although we should be loath to go to war about the matter, we cannot tamely look on when they protect our enemies and connive with them.

Our arrivall att Mallacca: itts hard case att presentt.

The 16th of January [1638]. Wee came to Anchor in Malacca rode and landed some Few passengers and their goods[1]. The people here in perplexity on report off the Hollanders comming to beeseige them, who this year had taken and burnt many off their vessells and Destroyed much people. Beesides, not long since there were sentt From hence aboutt 200 souldiers to Goa to look there For their pay, beecause here was No Mony For them, Nor scarce Meat to bee had For their Mony; All things Dear and the Inhabitantts in Fear[2]. However, there came a presentt of reffreshing From the Generall off the Citty[3] who had bin aboard off us with the New Captaine Generall appointed For Macao, who remayned here For lacke off a passage.

---

[1] From the *Continuation of the China Voyage* we learn that on the 15th January, when "about 8 leagues short of Malacca," Thomas Robinson was sent ashore in the *Dragon's* barge and reached the town "about midnight." His mission was to apprize the "Captain Gennerall" of the arrivall of the ships in order that the custom house officers might be "sent abourd speedily to take notice of what goods should be landed, because the seazon hasted our departure." Weddell, however, in his account (*O.C.* 1662), says that no goods were landed "till they brought readie money."

[2] The decline of Portuguese power in Malacca dated from 1606 when the Dutch Admiral Cornelis Matelief gained a victory over their fleet in the Straits of Malacca. From that time Malacca was continually besieged by the Dutch, with varying success, till the city at last fell into their hands in 1641, the final siege having lasted nine months. See Wilkinson, *Papers on Malay Subjects*, History, p. 36; Crawfurd, *Descriptive Dict. of the Indian Is.*, *s.v.* Malacca; Danvers, *Portuguese in India*, II. 278—280.

[3] Luiz Martin de Souza, who was appointed Captain-General of Malacca on the death of Dom Francisco Coutinho in 1638. See *Lisbon Transcripts, Books of the Monsoons, Translations*, vol. XI. (Letter of 30th August 1638 N.S.).

Anona, a Fine Fruite.

Among Fruits with which this place abounds there is one called Anona, allmost as bigge as a Mans 2 Fistts, in Forme off a heart, like unto a pine, with outtside

No. 37. Anona, a Fine Fruite.

off a reddish coullour. It is off a tast thatt is much like unto Creame apples and sugar Mingled together[1].

The 19th January [1638]. Wee sett saile From Mallacca, many poore people striving to com away with us to seeke their Fortunes elcewhere, butt wee took in few or none. Att night wee anchored by reason off shoalds to seaward.

The 20th January [1638]. Wee were off of Cabo Rachado or the Cloven cape [in Portuguese]; little wind, much heate, and sightt off the Main and Sumatra at once[2], about 8 leagues over.

The 22th [*January* 1638]. Wee passed by Porters Ilands[3], beeing certaine rocks that lay in our way.

The 23d [*January* 1638]. Wee anchored Nere and in sightt off Sumatra. These 5 Daies wee have nott gon much above 40 leagues, by reason of shoalds, calmes, tides, etts.

Great suckinge Fishes taken with hookes and lynes.

To day wee caughtt many sucking Fishes off 18 and 20 inches, and some off 2 Foote long, with hookes and

[1] See *Relation* XXI. p. 58, note [5] for Mundy's previous reference to this fruit under its Indian name.

[2] See *Relation* XXIV. p. 139. "Point Richardo . . . is a bluff point and makes like an Island when first you see it." Log of the *Bridgewater*, 21st December 1820 (*Marine Records*, vol. 42A).

[3] See *Relation* XXIV. p. 139.

lynes, there beeing a scoale off them thatt Followed the shippe. The like before I never saw yett, Neither soe great. One of our Portugall passengers related a pretty Manner off taking sea tortoises [turtle] att Mosambicque, which is by Fastning a lyne to one off these sucking Fishes. They lett them goe so thatt they com not Near the ground, where seeking somwhatt to cleave unto, they offten Meet with tortoises, unto which they sticke soe Fast that with the lyne which is Fastned to their taile they pull them both together; a thing not unlikely.

The 26th [*January* 1638]. Wee passed by Puloverera or hope Iland[1] in sightt off Sumatra.

To the end off this month Much calmes; Nothing elce worth Notice.

Abstract of the Month of January 1637.

2. Wee lost our long boate.
5. Wee saw the land of Cochinchina.
16. Wee came to Mallacca.
19. Wee sett saile from thence.

Sayled in this Month off January the some off Miles [blank][2].

Our arrivall att Achein.

February 1637 [1638]. The 3d of this Month wee came to anchor in Achein Rode, where wee found sundry vessells, *viz.*, off Surat, Cambayett [Cambay], Mesulipatan [Masulipatam], Carapatan [Khārepātan], Maldiva

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[1] Pulo Berhala. In *Relation* XXIV. (*ante*, p. 138) Mundy calls this island "Puloera."

[2] The *Continuation of the China Voyage* records that on the 31st January "John Perryman, saylor in the *Dragon*, was arraigned as accessary to the death of one of his Consorts and was quitt by the Jury."

[Maldive Is.], etts[1]., The *Catherine* having sett saile From hence butt yesterday, after shee had [been] here 8 Daies.

Inhumaine and bloudy executions For an intended [t]reason.

Here wee understood of aboutt 400 persons putt to death by this King some 3 or 4 Monthes since with sundry sorts off exquisite tormentts, *viz.*, Divers Cutt in peeces; others sawne in 2, beeing made fast to tymbers, and as the wood is cutt soe goeth the saw through their Bodies by little and little; some hung on Iron hookes by the heeles, stretched wide abroad, and Molten lead powred into the Fundamentts of the Men and privities of the weomen to cause them [to] Confesse where their Masters or husbands treasure lay. Some one way, some another, were putt to Cruell Deathes and their Mangled torne bodies throwne into the River. These Most Cruell and horrid executiones were inflicted on them For a Treason intended by his wives sister (the old Kings daughters both) in beehalffe of her sonne, intending by Poison to take this King away, thatt her said sonne mightt reigne. Butt shee Missed her purpose and was the First thatt tasted his Fury, which extended

[1] The diary for the 4th February 1638 in the *Continuation of the China Voyage* gives the following additional information. "Our People ashoare [at Achin] all liveinge, though very Crazie [weak, sickly]. Noe Ships of Europe arrived their [*sic*] since our departure. The newe Kinge [Iskandar Thāni] haveinge been much imbroyled in warrs and with domesticall treacheries, soe that pepper was not easily procured and little to be had for the present. Att our comeinge in here were 6 small Vessells of Surratt, Bengala, St Thome, Choromandell, etc., But all Commodyties very deare. It was determined by Consultation that the *Sunn* should Expect [wait] till the 24th of this present for what pepper might be procured to fill her upp, and so to departe for Europe; the *Dragon*, with all Convenient Expedition, to goe for the Coast of India to the same purpose, both which God Conducte."

Here the document breaks off, and the only authority for the remainder of the voyage of the *Sun* is Mundy's narrative. Weddell says (*O.C.* 1662) that "some gold Cheynes, &ca. China Comodities" were landed at Achin. The rest of his account is concerned with the voyage of the *Dragon* to the Malabar Coast.

to all others thatt had a hand in it or were suspected[1]. Beeffore the Court gate yett hung the saw, Iron Chaines and hookes, on a tree: some Instrumentts off the afforementioned Cruelties.

Little ease[2]: ordinary punishmentts.

In the Castle greene were allsoe 3 little low lodges off boards Full off long nailes or spikes, the points inwards, soe thatt a Man can Neither stand nor leane. Here some offenders are putt and kept till they are called Forth to receave liberty or punishment, which are usually performed with extremity, as Death by severall waies, cutting off of hands or Feette (or both), Noses, lippes or privities, or all; to some More, to some lesse, and then are lett goe. Of these maymed and Dismembred people wee saw some aboutt the towne, the stumpes off their legges putt into bigge Bamboes or canes, wherewith they goe as on Stiltts[3]. This is their old Manner of Governmentt which they are accustomed unto and must bee contented withall, not knowing how to helpe itt.

The English in favour with the King.

Our English here esteemed off by the King, who bestowed on the Factory a good peece off ground[4], wheron they have built them a Commodious dwelling house, with others of Service, according to this Country Manner. Hee hath allsoe honnoured them by letting them have one off his Elephantts off the 2d or 3d rancke For their grace and Service. Mr Edward Knipe Cheiffe

[1] For a similar conspiracy in the preceeding reign of Iskandar Mūda, in which his mother was implicated, see Beaulieu, in *Voyages de Thevenot*, I. 62—63; Marsden, *Sumatra*, p. 446.

[2] Mundy is using the name of the well-known torture cell in the Tower of London to describe a similar place of torment at Achin.

[3] Compare Mandelslo, p. 110 and Beaulieu, *op. cit.*, pp. 101—102. See also Mundy's previous remarks (*Relation* XXIII. p. 135) on "Cruell Justice" at Achin.

[4] See *ante*, *Relation* XXIII. p. 117 *n.* 6.

off the Factory[1] hath bin offten abroad with him on hunting off wild beasts, and once among the rest there was killed a shee Rinoceros with a yong one in her belly. She had no horne on her Nose as the Males[2].

Taking of Wild Elephantts : how tamed.

Here they allsoe Chace and take wilde Elephantts with tame ones, by Enclosing them round soe thatt they cannott escape. These are after made fast beetweene 2 tame Elephantts, who lead him upp and Downe (as I myselfe saw), and in short tyme hee beecommeth allsoe tame. This King is said to have aboutt 1000[3].

The punishment of the Keepers when an Elephant Dies.

Each off them have soe many keepers and servauntts allowed him, and itt is reported if any one of them Chaunce to Dye, his keeper is putt alive into his belly, which is againe sowed uppe and soe is Cast into the River, where wee Found one off their skulls which was broughtt aboard.

An Elephantts skull : a strange property.

I thincke itt Differs From any other Creature (beesides whatt aforementioned)[4] in this Allsoe, Thatt wheras others have many smalle teeth and grinders, this had butt 2 in all in the upper part off his Mouth on each side one, Neare 8 Inches in length and 3 in breadth (I Mean the outer head off itt), resembling 2 little

[1] See *Relation* XXIII. p. 137, for the establishment of Edward Knipe as Chief of the English Factory at Achin.

[2] Mundy is correct. In the Javan rhinoceros (*Rhinoceros sondaicus*), found in the Malay Peninsula, the horn of the female is so undeveloped as to be almost indistinguishable.

[3] Beaulieu, who was at Achin in 1621, says that Iskandar Mūda possessed 900 elephants who were all named (*Voyages de Thevenot*, I. 105).

[4] See Mundy's remarks in *Relation* XXIII. pp. 126—130.

No. 41. A Dolphin.

No. 40. Flying Fishes Chaced by Bonitos, etts.

No. 38. What use Elephants are put unto.

Milstones wherewith hee grindeth his provender, beeing all indented For the better and speedier performance. It is to bee conceaved hee hath the like 2 underneathe[1]. The Forepart off his skull shooteth forward, wherin are Fixed his 2 long tuskes. The toppe off his skull is fashioned with 2 round bunches, which made some say (perhaps) his testicles lay there, butt by relation of these people they are in his Necke beehind his eares, or rather I thincke they ly within his body as those off all Femalle Creatures Doe For outtwardly none to bee Discerned att all.

Whatt use Elephantts are putt unto.

The Elephantt here is putt to servile labour (not soe in India)[2], as to launch and Draw vesells on shoare, Dragging tymber, carrying smaller wood, which they will very easily and cleanly take uppe From the ground on there tuskes with the helpe off their truncke, and soe carry it away very orderly, their truncke serving as an arme and hand, as well to gather and Fitt their loding on their said tuskes when they First take it From the ground as afterward to come round aboutt over itt to keepe all steddy and Fast as they carry it away. The Manner off the First is as lettre A, and offe the latter as letter B in the Figures underneath[3]. Not all putt to such labour, For many off the best are kept For state and easier service. I say this is the Manner for small Matters off bulke, such as they

[1] The Indian elephant is characterised by the complexity of its six successive cheek teeth or molars. These, which are composed of a number of thin plates of enamel and dentine with the interstices filled with cement, are so large and so slowly developed that, as Mundy remarked, not more than portions of two are ever in place and in use on each side of the jaw at the same time.

[2] Mundy is referring to his experience in N. India, where the use of the elephant in his time was confined to war and state purposes. But see his remarks on the draught elephants of the Viceroy of Goa, *ante*, p. 62.

[3] See Illustration No. 38.

May comprehend [grasp, lay hold of]; otherwise they lade on their backes as they Doe other beasts. They are off a wonderfull Capacity and strength. Our English Elephantt Made sleight off a greatt Anchor off aboutt 12 hundredwaightt, carrying it From the waterside to our house very Jocundly on his tuskes as aforesaid, by relation off Many off our owne people.

Mangostaines, a pretty Fruite.

Here I saw Mangostaines, a Fruite thatt Formerly I had read (and heard spoken) offe, esteemed daynety as it Deserves. It is very round, Nere 5 or 6 Inches

No. 39. Mangostaines, a pretty Fruite.

aboutt, off a tawny coullour, the Rinde very thicke, with a white substance within, Divided into Sundry Cloves, much like a head off garlicke, having a pleasauntt Cherry-like relish, good against the Flux[1], and thus formed.

The *Dragon* setts saile From Achein.

The 13th off February [1638]. The shippe *Dragon* sett saile From hence towards the Coast of India, leaving us here to take in whatt goods could bee procured For us and so to proceed For England[2], My selffe having petitioned and obtayned leave to goe For my Country on the shippe *Sunne*, they beeing therto as willing as my selffe For some reasons best knowne to our Selves.

[1] Mangosteen, from Malay *mangusta*, or *manggistan*. See Bowrey, ed. Temple, p. 322 and note, and Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Mangosteen.

[2] See *ante*, note on p. 330.

In our absence there [had] Died here Mr. Knipes Servauntt, Finding other 2 off the Factory very sicke att our arrivall[1], but now well recovered; This place held to bee unwholsome.

Mr. Henry Glascocke, an old Freind and acquaintance off Myne att Surate[2], on his request, was lefft here on shoare to supply the Factory.

Obeisaunce to the King, in whatt Manner perfformed.

The last off February [1638]. Mr Edward Knipe having some businesse with the King, Captaine Swanly and my selffe went with him. Att the entraunce off the Court gate wee putt off our shooes, And comming Near where the King was, wee made an obeisaunce after the Country Manner by Joyning our hands palme to palme, and soe Joyned lifting them over our heads. Comming a little Nearer wee did soe againe, and a little Farther wee did soe the 3d tyme, But the last was with bending our bodies First[3].

Cock Fighting much used att Achein.

Then sate wee Downe Crosse legged, there beeing Many people. The King then beeholding the sporte off Cocke Fighting, much used here[4], there beeing good Cockes in this place. The King was very Familiar and spake with any thatt would speake with him, off a setled Countenance allthough hard Favoured, according

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[1] See *ante*, note on p. 330.

[2] Henry Glascock was "merchant" of the pinnace *Anne* which had been sold in China. He remained at Achin until 1642. See *ante*, note [4] on p. 22 and *English Factories*, 1642—1645, p. 131.

[3] Mundy is describing the Malay *sembah* or respectful salutation. See Bowrey, ed. Temple, p. 307 and note. Compare Beaulieu (*Voyages de Thevenot*, I. 54), "Ayans fait la Sombaye, qui est le salut, mettant les mains jointes sur la teste."

[4] For cock-fighting at Achin, see *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, ed. Maclehose, II. 320, 415; Beaulieu, *op. cit.*, pp. 53, 58, 67; Mandelslo, p. 110.

to this country Fashion apparelled after the Ordinary Manner, butt adorned with Many Jewells off Diamonds, etts. [and other] pretious stones. None off the Orancaies [Orang-kaya] (or Lords) wearing any aboutt them except on their Cresses [*kris*, dagger] and swords.

Riding on Elephantts hard to some.

Having had our Demaunds graunted and licenced to Depart, wee returned the same way and in the same Manner as wee came, and all 3 gotte uppe on our Elephantt which broughtt us hither. For my owne part I Found [it] very uneasy riding, beeing badly seated and Not accustomed (Hee had such a shuffling, Joghing, Justling pace), setting hindermost on the Ridge off his Monstrous massy Chine bones, and Nothing att all under mee (nor they Neither) thatt I wished my selff on Foote and Would have left my selffe Fall off but thatt it was somwhat to high[1]. In Fine, wee alighted off from his backe into the upper galleries off the house and saved the labour going uppe staires.

Tortoises Egges : Green snakes.

In the Bazars they sell Tortoises egges, redy sodde [boiled]. They are sphericall round, and not ovall, allthough they bee egges, Nor have No shell, butt a Filme such as Country people say are laid by overffed hennes.

There was allsoe a live snake off aboutt 5 Foote in length off as perfftt a brightt greene collour as the leaffe on a tree, except towards the head somwhatt Blewishe ; it seems they are common[2].

[1] Beaulieu's experiences on an elephant, when he was at Achin in 1621 (*op. cit.*, p. 106) were similar to Mundy's. He says it is " une mauvaise monture pour ceux qui n'y sont accoustumez, l'avant des espaules est le plus doux ; mais plus arriere, j'aymerois mieux courir dix postes, que de faire quatre lieues sur un Elephant sans chaire ou autre invention."

[2] Mundy is describing one of the many arboreal snakes numerous in India and the Malay Peninsula.

Dig[by] Penkeu off St Minver[1] Ingratitude recompenced.

Att our arrivall wee Found here an Englishman in a Smalle vessell, trading to and Fro in these parts For himselffe. Hee was borne in the Westcountry and was Freindly and courteously enterteyned by us all in generall. Butt hee privately and ungratefully gotte him away with his said vessell, carrying with him the Monies off some, and otherwise indebted unto others. Butt itt pleased God thatt within a Day or two hee was by Foule weather Driven on shoare within a little off this place, His vessell suncke and loste, his goods wett and spoiled, halffe of his company run away and himselffe left to repentt of such bad Courses.

A Dutch vessell reporting unpleasing Newes.

Here came in allsoe a Dutch vessell, a Freetrader likewise, who came From Pegu, and said thatt there came thither certaine Moores [Muhammadans] From Mesulipatan thatt should report of 2 English shippes come to thatt Port who should bring Newes that our Kings Majestie off England [Charles I.] was Deade. This wee conceaved to bee Devised by some thatt would have it soe rather then itt was soe indeed, Hoping that the Almighty will preserve him unto us in prosperity For many yeares to the wellffare and tranquillity off all his Kingdomes, which God graunt. Amen.

China commodities well sold here.

All China Commodities att presentt very well sold here, by reason off the vessels aforementioned, who transport it For India, Choromandell, Bengala, etts. From hence allsoe they carry yong Elephantts, this Country accompted to breed the biggest and Fairest

[1] The MS. has Minu followed by a contraction sign which probably indicates "er." St Minver is situated at the north of Cornwall, near Padstow.

The India shippe etts. afforementioned, beeing 8 in Number, rode aboutt 2 leagues From us att the other Mouth off the River going uppe to Achein. Except a man knew whatt they were, hee would hardly Judge them to bee other then some Europe Fleete by their Forme, beake heads, toppes, Rigging, etts.

Price of Pepper att Achein.

Pepper Cost 9 Tailes, taies or turanaes the Bahare, The Tay worth 4 Ryalls of Eightt, the Bahare 200 Cattees, each Cattee about $30\frac{5}{8}$ oz. English, makes 382 *ll.* 13 oz[1]. For 36 Ryall off eightt, near uppon 5*d* per *ll.*, accomptinge the Ryall off eightt att 4*s.* 5*d.* as worth in England[2].

A Massa now worth 1000 Casse, it beeing butt 600 att our last Departure[3].

An omission off no great importe.

Here Followeth part off Februaries abstract, untill our arrivall att Achein, which should immediately come afore January according to the decorum off the booke, butt was there omitted.

Abstracte of part of February 1637[4].

Having heretoffore Mentioned the Malaya tongue to bee off great extent hereawaies, beeing Now to part with these countries where it is used, I have sett a Few words therof Downe here, interpreted into English, *viz*[5].

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[1] See *Relation* XXIII., notes on pp. 136, 137 for all these terms.

[2] This valuation is interesting as showing the extraordinary stability of the Spanish dollar. According to Kelly, *Universal Cambist*, II. 168, this dollar in its different forms varied from 1731 to 1774 between 4*s.* $4\frac{1}{4}$*d.* and 4*s.* $4\frac{1}{2}$*d.*, while in 1835 it was worth 4*s.* $3\frac{3}{4}$*d.*

[3] See *Relation* XXIII., note on p. 137.

[4] The "Abstracte" contains nothing but a note of the arrival of the ships at Achin on the 3rd February, followed by "Gon these 3 Daies" with no total of miles added.

[5] No list of words follows and the rest of the page is blank, so it seems as if Mundy omitted to copy his examples of the "Malaya tongue" when he revised his MS.

RELATION XXVIII.

SINCE OUR DEPARTURE FROM ACHEIN, ON THE ILAND OF SUMATRA, UNTILL OUR ARRIVAL AT THE ILAND OF MAURITIUS AND DEPARTURE THENCE AGAINE, *VIZ*[1].

Our Departure From Achein.

Saterday, The 3d of Marche Anno 1637/8. Aboutt 2 of the Clocke in the Morning wee sett saile From Achein roade, bending our course homeward, After wee had there taken in aboutt 37 Tonnes off Pepper att 14 C [cwt.] to the Tonne, which wee had stayed For, and att length came[2].

The 4th Ditto [1638]. Wee had sightt off Sumatra where the land trends aboutt to goe to Priamon, Teeco etts.,[3] on the West coast therof, From whence is broughtt great store of Pepper.

The 7th [*March* 1638]. Our Cockswaine Died and was buried in the Sea.

The Sunne in the equinoctiall and our Zenith.

The 14th [*March* 1638]. By Judgementt wee were under the Equator and the Sunne Near our zenith a

[1] The full headline to this *Relation* in the MS. is, "China voiage Homeward bound From Achein on Sumatra unto the Iland of Mauritius."

[2] The *Sun* was delayed at Achin for nearly three weeks after the departure of the *Dragon*. Mundy's statement shows that the ton of pepper in his time was smaller than in the present day. Milburn, *Oriental Commerce*, I. 288, says "16 cwt. of pepper is allowed to a ton [in 1813]." Pepper is now usually put up in bags containing 64 to 128 *lbs.* or 14 to 28 bags per ton of 16 *cwt.*

[3] Priaman (Priyāmān) and Tiku on the N.W. coast of Sumatra.

little to the Northward, by which reason an observation was Difficult to bee taken. From Achein hither Much Calmes.

To the 20th [*March* 1638]. Much calmes and Raynes. Reffreshing by Bonitos etts. Fishes taken.

Towards the end of this Month wee mett the Monsoone thatt rules in these parts att this tyme of the yeare, And then came in pretty reffreshing off Allbacores and Bonitos[1], of which wee tooke pretty store, As allsoe of Dolphins and Sharckes some. The Bonitos kept us company For 7 or 8 Daies together close round aboutt our shippe, seeming to emulate her going, For shee ran all this while 6, 7 and 8 Miles an hower[2].

Whither all sorts off Fish Doe Sleepe or Noe.

I know not whither they may bee only one Scoale thatt Followed us, Or thatt, this part off the Sea beeing very Full off the said Fish att this Season, some goe and others come, soe thatt they seeme to bee allwaies the same. If these Bonitos bee butt one Scoale (as our Seamen affirme, who say thatt as well off these as off other sorts off Fish have kept company with shippes Farre longer tyme, yea Many Monthes together, knowing them to bee the same by some tokens), Then itt may bee Demaunded how they could run soe Farre and endure soe long withoutt sleepe or rest, or whither they Doe sleepe or Noe, For others are seene to Doe itt, as whales, Sunffishes, seatortoises, etts[3].

[1] The albacore (*Thunnus albacora*) and the bonito (*Thunnus pelamys*) are both members of the tunny family. See vol. II. pp. 15, 158, 335 for Mundy's previous acquaintance with these fishes.

[2] The editor has found that the best speed of a ship for the successful catching of bonitos is 11 knots, throwing out a strong iron hook astern, fastened to a wire rope and baited with a white or white and red rag.

[3] Dr Boulenger informs me that Mundy is quite correct in thinking that the same school of fish accompanied the ship for many days. See Gunther, *Introd. to the Study of Fishes*, p. 292.

How Bonitos etts. are taken in the Ocean.

These bonitos are Most commonly taken with a Counterffaict Fish Made off linencloath on a hooke, as allsoe strucke with a Fizga or Fizguig[1], an Invention off Iron with many prongs or teeth, whose ends are like arrow heads, sharpe, pointed and Cutting, like the head off a harping Iron, wherwith porpoises etts. bigger Fish ar stricken thus → soe thatt where itt enters it comes not lighttly Forth againe withoutt bringuing away with it the Fish strucken [2].

Flying Fishes Chaced by Bonitos, etts.

The ordinary Food off these Bonitos is the Flying Fish[3], which they Chace and prey uppon, who nottwithstanding the helpe off their winglike Fynnes to escape in the Ayre (with which sometymes they will fly outtrightt a good Flightt shotte and More), yett are they there mett withall by almost as badde enemies, a Crew off hungry, greedy seaffoule, who ly hovering over them ; and soe in this Miserable Case beetweene both, Most off them come to the end wherffor they were ordayned, which is to beecome Foode For the others[4] Most commonly Bonitos, Fowle and Flying Fishes are all together, their living Depending one off the other.

They have butt bad quarter From their enemies.

This is the Hunting which wee sometymes see on these spacious Ocean playnes, And it is pastyme to see whatt shifft is Made on all sides, Some to take, others to escape, butt all Don att the Dear cost off the poore

[1] See *ante*, p. 147. Herbert, p. 348, describes a "Trident or Fisgigg."

[2] Here is a marginal note, "Aprill 1638."

[3] See vol. II. pp. 15, 331—332, for Mundy's previous remarks on, and description of, the Flying-fish (*Exocetus volitans*).

[4] See Mandelslo for a similar remark (pp. 243—244).

Flying Fish, who is no sooner in the Ayre butt there waites one ready to devour him, soe getts into the water For saffety, where lies another ready to eat him uppe, which forces him to take the Aire againe, till hee is cat[c]ht att last beetweene them, as per the Figure underneath[1].

The Moderne Dolphin : whatt Fish is meant by the poetts.

The Dolphin, called by the Spaniards Dorado (beecause of his curious golden coullour)[2], is one of their greatest enemies. It is held the swifftest off all fishes thatt swymme. This is not the Dolphin Mentioned by the auncients, beeing butt a smalle Fish, sildome or Never seene Nere the shoare, butt allwaies in the wide Ocean; [that is] rather thoughtt to bee the porpoise[3], able to beare a Man or a boy, as Poetts off old say they have Don[4]. They [dolphins] are ordinarylye aboutt 3 Foote in length; the longest thatt ever I saw was nott $4\frac{1}{2}$ Foote. This[5] is made with the Fynne on his backe erected as wee conceave hee swymmeth; otherwise it is laid [down]. Hee sheweth off pleasauntt Changeable Coullours as well in the water as a while after hee is taken.

Diego Rodriquez, an Iland.

The 11th of Aprill [1638]. Wee saw the Iland off Diego Rodriquez[6] as some off our Men said, And this

[1] See Illustration No. 40.

[2] The *Coryphæna hippuris*. Compare Mandelslo, pp. 196—197, "The Dorado, which the English confound with the Dolphin, is much like a Salmon, but incomparably more delicate and hath smaller scales."

[3] The classical "dolphin" was probably the common dolphin or porpoise (*Delphinus delphis*).

[4] The last three sentences of this paragraph are out of their place in the MS. Mundy has added the following note introducing them :— "On the other side I mentioned a Fish which wee call Dolphines and the Figure thereof should have bin there inserted at this Marcke*."

[5] See Illustration No. 41.

[6] Rodriguez, called after its discoverer Diego Rodriguez (or Diego Rais), the smallest of the Mascarene Isles.

Day our Fleete Forsooke us, *viz.*, Bonitos, Fowle and Flying Fishes, all gon together and not one to bee seene. Ever since the winde came in, itt hath blowen a good stiffe gale.

Sight off the Iland off Mauritius.

The 13th off Aprill [1638]. Wee had sight off the Iland off Mauritius, it beeing agreed by Consultation to putt in there, principally to looke out For a leake which brake outt uppon us, allsoe to water and reffresh our men thatt wee mightt the better bee able to beatt aboutt the Cape off good hope, which att this tyme of the Yeare prooves very Difficultt and Daungerous.

A wondrous Monument: Peter Butts Head.

The 14th of Aprill [1638]. Wee came aboutt the North side of the said Iland, all towards the Sea Shore as Fine a country as a man can Desire to beeholde, allthough wooddy. Within the land, aboutt the Middle off itt, ar high ragged Mountaynous rockes, wherof there is one pike called Peter Butts heade[1], by report on this occasion. There were 3 Holland shippes here riding, wherof was Commandore Peter Butts; 2 of the said shippes were Driven on shoare and Cast away, where the said Commaundore with Most off the Company were Drowned and much goods lost. The 3d shippe was Dr[i]ven off att Sea. On this unfortunate accident came the said Peter butts to have a Most Famous and lasting Monument, as the round knobbe on the toppe of the said peeke to bee Named Peter Butts head, as aforesaid[2]. And beecause it is off a rare Forme

[1] Here Mundy has added a pencil note, "Named on a straunge occasion about Anno 1616."

[2] Pieter Both, the first Governor-General of the Dutch East India Company (1609—1614), sailed for Holland in January 1615 and anchored off Mauritius. During a violent storm his ship was dashed to pieces among the rocks overlooked by the mountain which bears his name. See Dubois, *Vies des Gouverneurs Généraux*, pp. 11—24; Valentyn, IV. (*Levens des Opper-Land-Voogden*), 264—266.

Naturally, somewhatt resembling the spire off a steeple with a round Globe on the toppe off all[1], I have hereunder sett the Figure therof as it appeares aboutt 2 Mile to the Eastward off Water Bay[2] and aboutt a Mile or 2 From the shoare; but you Must conceave as you allter site, it allters forme.

Anchored at the Mauritius in Water Bay; Store off fresh fish.

The 15th of Aprill [1638]. Wee wentt Farther in and Mored in Water bay. Here wee caughtt sundry sorts off fish like breames, of severall collours, spotted; allsoe Rocke Fish, blackish with white spotts[3]. There are a sort by report Dangerous to bee eaten, beeing poisonous[4], butt God bee praised, wee mett with None.

Abstracte of part of the Monthes of Marche and Aprill 1637/8.

Marche 1637 [1638].

3. Wee sett saile From Achein: longitude from hence. From the 3d to the 14th currantt the lattitude is allowed per Judgmentt by reason the ⊙ was Near our Zenith.

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[1] The peak commemorating Pieter Both is a well-known landmark, 2674 ft. high. It is in the shape of an obelisk with a spherical rounded block 100 ft. high on the top. For an account of the ascent of the mountain by a party of Englishmen (who are supposed to have been the first to reach its summit) in September 1832, see *Journal of the Royal Geog. Soc.* III. 99—104.

[2] See Illustration No. 42. Mundy's "Water Bay," now known as the Harbour of Port Louis, on the N.W. of the island, was called Carpenter Bay by the English and Pieter Both's Bay by the Dutch in the 17th century.

[3] These fish seem to be the "Poule d'eau, a kind of turbot" and the "moon fish, speckled with different colours" of Grant, *History of Mauritius*, p. 58, but I have failed to identify them more exactly.

[4] Mundy seems to be alluding to the same fish as that described by Herbert, pp. 348—349, as "a speckled Toad-fish or poyson fish [at Mauritius] . . . which cost some their lives." Dr Boulenger informs me that this fish is the *Synanceia brachio*, the sting of which is justly dreaded. For a further contemporary description, see Grandidier, *Ouvrages Anciens concernant Madagascar* (Relâche d'Et. Van der Hagen) I. 401.

No. 42. Peter Butts Head.

No. 44. A Pintado.

No. 45. Their Idoll and Alter.

No. 43. A Mauritius Hen.

14. Under the Equator, raine and thunder.
15. Crost the Equino[c]tiall: South latitude.
20. John Lile, Tayler, Died.
21. From the 14th to the 21th variable windes, Raine thunder and lightning.
25. Our ladie Day and Easter Day[1].
29. From the 11th to the 29th currantt a greatt Southerly Sea.

Aprill 1638.

4. It was concluded to putt in for Mauritius.
6. Pumpt 160 strokes in an hower.
9. A growne Sea: gusts[2] and Raine
11 Wee saw Diego Rodriquez, an Iland: greatt variation off the Compasse.
14. Mauritius Iland: Anchored.
15. Anchored in Watring bay[3] farther in.

Sailed in these 44 Daies off these 2 Monthes off Marche and Aprill Miles..... 2826½

The use of the variation off the Compasse.

Here aboutt this Iland the Compasse varies 2 whole points to the Westward, the North pointing to the N.N.W. The greatest use (as I conceave) they Make of this variation off the Compasse is thatt itt helpes to know the longitude, then which as yett there is no surer rule Found outt, As For Example: In the latitude of 34½ Degrees S., having 3 Degrees Weste variation, you may bee sure you are Neare unto Cape Bona esperanza [Cape of Good Hope], every place having such or such variation, allthough in Many yeares it Altereth somwhatt, As att Cape of good hope afforementioned It is said Thatt in Former tymes there were 2 or 3 Degrees Easterly variation, which now is Westerly. Neither is there yett

[1] Here the date 1638 is added in the margin, marking the beginning of a new year according to the old reckoning.

[2] See *ante*, p. 28.

[3] See note [2] on p. 344.

Found outt any rule or reason (beesides Dayly experience) to know wherefore the Compasse should vary soe much in one place and soe much in another, and off thatt, alteration againe in tyme, it beeing Not Constant[1].

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[1] Lieut.-Com. George T. Temple, R.N., author of the *Admiralty Pilots for Norway*, has supplied me with the following interesting and illuminating note on Mundy's statement.

The directive power of the magnet for the purposes of navigation was recognised in Asia long before Europeans were aware of its value. The Chinese used it in 2634 B.C., calling it "*tchu-chy*" [Cant. *ts'z' shek*], the directing stone, and the earliest travellers speak of Arab sailors floating the magnetic needle in water, and so finding their north or south; but it seldom directs the north point of the compass card to the true north. There are two causes for this irregularity, known as Variation and Deviation. Variation, or declination, is the angle contained between a terrestrial and a magnetic meridian. It is called easterly when the north end of the needle is drawn to the right, and westerly when it points to the left of the true north. It is due entirely to terrestrial magnetism, or the influence the earth exerts on magnetic needles, and it varies with the geographical position of the ship, and even in the same place alters in course of years. In London in 1580 the needle pointed 11° 15′ to the east of true north; in 1657 there was no variation; it moved westerly until 1819, when it was 24° 30′ W., and it is now returning eastward. A line joining all places having the same variation is called a magnetic meridian, or isogonic line, and where the terrestrial and magnetic meridians coincide, we have no variation. The lines joining all places which have no variation are called agonic lines.

The discovery of a magnetic line without variation marks a memorable epoch in the progress of navigation, and is due to Columbus (13th September 1492), who also made the ingenious observation that magnetic variation might serve to find the longitude, and in the journal of his second voyage (April 1496) we find that he actually determined his position by the observed declination. The difficulties which oppose this method of determining longitude—especially where the isogonic lines are so much curved as to follow the parallels of latitude for considerable distances, instead of coinciding with the direction of the meridians—were at that period still unknown. Variation charts are now constructed showing the variation of the compass all over the world at the time of printing. A very slow secular progression, or a local invariability of the magnetic declination, has prevented the confusion which might have arisen from the terrestrial influences in the boundaries of land, when, with an utter disregard for the correction of declination, estates were, after long intervals, measured by the mere application of the compass. "The whole mass of West Indian property," says Sir John Herschell, "has been saved from the bottomless pit of endless litigation by the invariability of the magnetic declination in Jamaica and the surrounding Archipelago during the whole of the last [18th] century, all surveys of property there having been conducted solely by the compass." See also Robertson, *Phil. Trans.*, 1806, pt. ii. p. 348, *On the permanency of the compass in Jamaica since* 1660. In England the magnetic declination varied by fully 14° during that period.

Deviation is the horizontal angle in which the needle is deflected by the iron in or on the ship itself, and there are so many causes of

New Seamen Fall [in] with Ilands, etts., in the Ocean after Farre sayling and long beeing att Sea.

Moreover to bee noted (I speak not to the expert Seamen), the longitude beeing soe Difficultt to bee kept in long voiges, by reason off Seas and currantts, which sometyme putt the best outt off their reckoning, The variation off the Compasse beeing yett the best helpe they have, as afforesaid. The Marriner takes the course For the Falling with any Iland in the Ocean, headland, bayes, etts., on the Continent where they Desire to Arrive after 2 or 3 Monthes sayling on the wide waters, variously tost and carried to and Fro by windes, Currantts and Seas. First hee will bee sure to Steere soe that hee may bee Farre to the Eastward or Westward off the place (according as itt will admit), untill he come into the lattitude therof; then keeping himselffe in the said lattitude, he steereth E. or W. right uppon it, and cannot Misse it if hee have observation, For the latitude is easily kepte by any indifferent Seaman. Only it happens some are Nearer or Farther off then others, according to each Mans Judgementt. As when wee draw Neare Cape Benesperanza outtward bound, Men will looke outt For land sometymes 5 or 6 Daies before they shall see itt, For some off them should bee ashoare with the shippe by their reckonings while others wantt yett 100 leagues

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change in the amount of deviation which must be specially guarded against, that it is impossible to enter into the various methods used to counteract the mischief caused by the natural action of the body of the ship upon her heart—as the compass may well be called—within the necessary limits of this footnote.

In 1580 Robert Norman discovered that at all places on the earth, except on a line not far from the equator, and crossing it, the needle does not remain horizontal, as it would if not magnetical, but points downwards with its north end, going to the northward of the line, and with its south end going to the southward. This property of the needle is called the dip or inclination. The angle of inclination in both cases increases till, in a position in each hemisphere about 18° from the earth's poles, the needle becomes vertical. These positions are called the Magnetic Poles, and the curve or line round the earth where the inclination is nil is called the magnetic equator.

to land. However, they all com right sooner or latter, For in the lattitude they cannot Much erre, allthough the longitude bee Difficult and Doubtfull, as afforesaid[1].

Untill the 18th off Aprill [1638] was spentt in stopping a great leake, in watring our shippe and reffreshing our Men, which was here to bee had in some reasonoble [*sic*] Manner with a little paynestaking to huntt For it; wee gotte pretty store of severall sorts according to the shortness off our stay.

Some particularities off the Iland off Mauritius.

The Iland of Mauritius may bee incompasse aboutt 25 or 30 leagues[2], some part Mountaynous, butt most part low levell land (Forasmuch as wee could see), all overgrowne with trees, stony in some places, as aboutt the Fresh River[3] and the watring place, etts., butt generally very good ground, woods and groves of Trees (some wherof I thinck nott elcewhere to bee seene). Among the rest these are to bee Noted.

The Palmito tree affording Meate and Drincke.

The Palmito tree, much like the Toddy trees on Battee [Bhatha] plaine by Suratt[4] (perhapps the same sort), the tender toppe wherof boyled and buttred are as good (if not better) as Cabbage[5], To which end Many hundred are allready cutt Downe and Few remayning

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[1] This method of navigation is still frequently followed by Arab *nākhudās* (masters), and the editor has known a Norwegian skipper, whose only chart was a map of the world, find Port Blair in the Andaman Islands by the process of getting into its latitude well to the east of it and then sailing west till he hit it.

[2] The island is 130 miles in circumference.

[3] The Grande Rivière.

[4] See vol. II. pp. 32—33.

[5] See *ante*, p. 151 for Mundy's previous allusion to the "cabbage" of the wild palm tree. Herbert also noted it at Mauritius (p. 345):—"At the top of the Palmito tree is a soft pith, in which consists the soule or vegetative vertue, for being cut out the tree dyes; the pith is in bignesse like a small Cabbage, in taste like a Nut, but boyld eats like a Colli-flory." See also Leguat, ed. Oliver, II. 62, 63.

aboutt the places where our shippes use to toutch or winter. Beesides, by cutting the Body of the tree, there Distills a licor which may bee compared to thatt which comes From the prest Sugar cane, pleasaunt and wholsome, very good Drincke[1].

The Ebon Tree.

The Ebon tree groweth here aboundantly, which soe much is esteemed off with us For its exceeding hardnesse, Jetty blacknesse and Durability. They are somwhatt tall and straightt, with a small ovall leaffe off a Darcke greene. The very Ebony ittselffe is the heart of the said tree, the rest yellow and hard like box. Neither is itt Found in every tree, only I conceave in those of good growth and som long standing[2]. It is said shippes have bin sentt purposely From Denmarcke to lade themselves with itt, For there is enough.

The Box tree.

Another tree resembling the box tree wee have in England both in leaffe and wood, and may bee accompted off the same kinde[3].

A straunge property off a tree.

Another of a smalle ovall Darcke greene leaffe, the substance of the body like the inner part off a Colewort

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[1] Herbert says: (p. 345) "Palmito wine [toddy] . . . is must or sweet, pleasant and nourishing; in colour and taste not unlike new Muskadine." Toddy (*tīrī*) is made from the juice of the Palmyra or Toddy palm (*Borassus flabelliformis*).

[2] Mundy's description of this species of ebony (*Diospyros*), of which there are several in Mauritius, applies to the "Marble-wood" or "zebra" wood of the Andamans (*Diospyros kurzii*). See Mandelslo, p. 198. In 1644 Captain John Proud, who anchored at Mauritius, remarked (*O.C.* 1656) that near the coast "Ebon wood" had become so scarce that the Dutch were "enforct to fetch it at greater distance."

[3] Sir David Prain informs me that there is no true box tree (*Buxus*) recorded from Mauritius. The plant described by Mundy is probably *Securinega durissima* which is very similar in general appearance. Herbert also (p. 347) alludes to a tree resembling box in the island.

stalke, The which if a Man should putt into his Mouth biteth and scaldeth extreamely. I know nott where [*sic*, ? whether] it bee venimous or Noe[1].

Lemmon trees, etts.

Sundry other straunge sorts off Trees are here to bee Found, some bigge and tall, others of a pretty Forme as though Don by arte. By report here are allsoe lemmon etts. [and other] Fruite tree[s] and herbes as yett unknowne to us: Much of the Plantt off which Aloes is made, resembling the Siempre viva [*Sempre viva*, House-leek], the Juice off this extreame bitter[2].

Bullockes, Goates, Hogges, Tortoises.

These beasts etts. creatures affollowing are here to bee had with a little paynestaking, *viz.*

Bullocks, off which wee saw and heard some, butt tooke None.

Goates, wee killed some and tooke others alive, off the biggest size in general that elcewhere I have seene, in shape and haire somwhatt like to those att Mohilla and Johanna[3].

Hogges wee allsoe killed, beeing att presentt very leane, and caught Some sucking pigges[4].

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[1] Herbert (p. 346) has the following description of a "poison" tree at Mauritius:—"Divers other Trees here are, various in their shape and nature: one, out of curiosity I bit and tasted of, but for halfe an houre it so malignantly wrong'd my mouth and lips, as if Vitriol had beene imbrued with Sulphur: it procreates nothing that is greene or good, destitute of shade and beauty, wholy naked, without leafe or flower, the bole or body is soft and penetrable, such as a Musquet bullet can make way thorough though the Tree be of five yards circuit." Leguat (ed. Oliver, II. 201—202) calls the tree "Stront-boom or T—— Tree," and the editor has a long note on the subject without, however, conclusively identifying it. The descriptions, however, are applicable to some kind of *Euphorbia*. Sir David Prain conjectures that Mundy meant the *Euphorbia tirucalli*.

[2] One of the species of Aloe, probably *Aloe-lomatophylloides*.

[3] See *ante*, p. 38.

[4] The domestic animals at present found in Mauritius are all importations. See Mundy's previous notes on the island (vol. II. pp. 318—319) where he remarks on the cattle "sett" there by the

Tortoises, wee broughtt aboard as Many as wee would, good Meat if well Dressed, beeing very Fatte, having No other tast, butt goode, Some of them have their upper shell off aboutt 3 Foote long, Few exceeding it as I could see; a very untoward, unsightly and unweeldy (allthough harmlesse) Creature. If they bee turned on their backes they cannott helpe themselves butt will soe dye. These are called land tortoises[1], allthough they are as Much in the water. They lay their egges in the sand, which are hatched by the Sunne. In the straights of Sincapura [Singapore] there was a Seatortoise broughtt aboard alive, off those which yeildeth the shell wherof Combes etts. Curiosities are Made. They ly on his backe, one overlooking the other, as tiles on a house[2]; butt these otherwise such as wee see ordinarily.

Battes.

Battes, wee gotte some off thatt biggnesse thatt they conteyned Foure Foote From the 2 extreamest parts off their wings stretched outt, headed like little Foxes, coulloured like Fitches [fitchew, polecat], with very sharpe teeth[3]. I Never saw any creature Fatter For its biggnesse, For Flaying off the skynne, it remayned yett covered as it were with a coote off Fatte off a good thicknesse, very sweet in the eating, butt in my opinion too lushious or Fullsome, and Daungerous. In the Day tyme they hang on trees by hooke on their wings with their heads Downeward and in the twilighte against [towards] Night Fly abroad to Feed. They Drincke Flying, snatching at the water; if once one the ground Not able to rise For want off Feet to spring them into

[1] One of the species of *Testudo* which abounded in the Mascarenes on their first discovery. The largest species are now extinct.

[2] The Hawkbill Turtle (*Chelone imbricata*). See *ante*, p. 26.

[3] The Flying-fox, Fox-bat, or Fruit-eating bat (*Pteropus vulgaris*) which is indigenous to the island and all over the East. See Herbert, p. 348, for "Bats as large as Goshawkes" at Mauritius.

the Ayre to gather wynde. I conceave it is soe with any other Fowle if their legg should bee broken.

Dodo : a Fowle.

For Fowle, these Following Among the reste.

The Dodo. Allthough wee now Mett with None, yett Divers tymes they are Found here, having seene 2 att Suratt broughtt From hence[1], and as I remember they are as bigge bodied as great Turkeyes, covered with Downe, having little hanguing wings like shortt sleeves, alltogether unuseffull to Fly withall, or any way with them to helpe themselves. Neither Can they swymme butt as other land Fowle Doe [when] on Necessity Forced into the water, beeing Cloven Footed as they are[2].

A Mauritius hen.

A Mauritius henne, a Fowle as bigge as our English hennes, of a yellowi[s]h Wheaten coullour, of which wee gotte only one. It hath a bigge long Crooked sharpe pointed bill, Feathered all over, butt on their wings they are soe Few and smalle thatt they cannott with them raise themselves From the ground[3].

There is a pretty way off taking of them with a redde Cappe, butt this[4] was strucke with a sticke. They bee very good Meat, and are allsoe Cloven Footed, soe

[1] See vol. II. p. 318.

[2] See Herbert, p. 347. Mandelslo seems to be alluding to the Dodo in his description (p. 199) of a bird at Mauritius " of the bigness of a Swan, which have neither wings nor Tail, but so hard a flesh, that no heat can either boyl or roast it." The Dodo (*Didus ineptus*) survived in Mauritius until 1681.

[3] See Mundy's former reference to this bird (vol. II. p. 318) which Mr W. L. Sclater has identified as the now extinct rail, *Aphanapteryx broekii*. For other mentions and illustrations of the " Mauritius Hen " see Mr Sclater's article in the *Ibis* of April 1915, pp. 316—319.

[4] See Illustration No. 43.

thatt the[y] Can Neyther Fly nor swymme More then the Former.

Off these 2 sorts off Fowle afforementioned, For oughtt wee yett know, Not any to bee Found out off this Iland, which lyeth aboutt 100 leagues From St Lawrence [Madagascar].

A Question.

A question may bee Demaunded how they should bee here and Not elcewhere, beeing soe Farre From other land and can Neither Fly nor swymme; whither by Mixture off kindes producing straunge and Monstrous Formes, or the Nature off the Climate, ayre and earth in alltring the First shapes in long tyme, or how[1].

Other land Fowle here are of Divers sorts[2], as Russett Parratts[3], large turtle Doves[4] and many other various in Forme, coullour and biggenesse; among the rest one as great as a blacke bird with a yellow bill[5], and a little bird like a lynnett[6], with others who would come Flocking about us, as wondring at us, soe thatt wee strucke them downe with sticks in our hands.

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[1] Mundy is wrong in supposing that birds which cannot fly are peculiar to Mauritius, as such are found in many parts of the world in varying species.

[2] I am indebted to Mr W. L. Sclater for the following identifications. Mr Sclater also drew my attention to the works noted below, containing additional information regarding the birds of Mauritius.

[3] The *Mascarinus mascarinus*, a Mascarene parrot, now extinct, of which two examples are known, one in Paris and one in Vienna. It is supposed to have been confined to Reunion, but it is quite likely that it or a closely allied form also lived in Mauritius. See Rothschild, *Extinct Birds*, p. 64, pl. 9.

[4] Probably *Nesoenas mayeri*, a large pigeon-like bird with a wing of 8 inches, now very rare and probably verging on extinction.

[5] Probably *Ixocincla olivacea*, called by Creoles "le Merle." It is about the size of a blackbird, has a yellow bill and is of a brownish ashy colour throughout.

[6] Probably *Nesacanthus rubra* which is a native, and now increasingly rare bird, being about the same size as a linnet and having a red head. It is known to Creoles as the "Zozo Banane" or "Oiseau Banane."

Silkewormes are said to breed here in the woods[1].

Snakes Nor toades wee saw None, Nor any venimous thing, Neither have any such bin heard to bee here[2], Allthough Many small lizards, spiders and land Crabbes in the woodes.

And soe much For the land with its production. Now a little off the Sea and Fresh waters.

A good harbour : a greatt Fresh River.

Here by is a good harbour called the North West harbour, whither wee went with our skiffe, and From thence uppe into a Creeke to the Fresh River[3], which is soe large and hath soe Much water thatt hardly to bee beeleived it could proceed From soe small an Iland ; running over and among great round stones, rockes, etts.

Divers Creekes : Sharckes, Oysters.

Divers Creekes going somwhatt uppe into the land, abounding with Fish off severall sorts and sizes. Sharckes, a greatt Many in the shallow water, very Daring, Soe thatt itt is Daungerous swymming. Good bigge oysters and store in clusters on the rockes and stones Near the shoare, and a little outt att Sea plenty off excellent Fish.

Fresh water Fish : Water Foule.

A little above our watring place was a small lake which went aboutt 1½ or 2 Mile uppe, Made off the same water thatt came Downe to us. This, the Fresh River afforementioned, etts. Fresh waters are allso stored with

[1] This is correct. Several species of wild silkworms are found in Mauritius.

[2] Valentyn, v. (Mauritius) 152, notes the absence of snakes and toads at Mauritius. See also Leguat, ed. Oliver, II. 214.

[3] The Harbour of Port Louis and the Grande Rivière.

Fish, especially bigge Dapled Eales[1] and Fowle, as a small Kinde off Geese, Duckes, Widgeons, Moorehennes, etts. On the rockes and stones in the said Fresh water Farre uppe From the Sea grow perriwinckles[2].

White Corrall.

The shoare here away all bounded and Fenced with white Corrall, A plant growing in the Sea, the which wee saw under water as wee passed to and Fro with our Boate. This likely att length is broken off, beecommeth hard and is Driven on shoare with the Billowes. There are Many of these plantts soe petrefyed, having seene them both greene growing underwater, as allsoe on the shore converted to stone[3], wherоff one perffittly resembling a Mushrumpe.

The Iland of Mauritius Commended.

And thus in breiffe I have in part Discribed whatt was observable off our 3 or 4 Daies traveill off 3 or 4 leagues off that side off the Iland towards the Sea. I have Formerly heard it much commended by Divers (and I thincke Few thatt have seene itt will say Contrary), thatt were it inhabited and Manured [cultivated], it would proove a Most pleasaunt and commodious place of living, Both land and Sea willing and able to furnish and contribute plenteously as well For Necescity as pleasure and conveniency. The higher hills beeing as it were storehouses For greatt tymber etts. wood, as allsoe off excellent water, which it Distributtes and sends

[1] Conger eels.

[2] See *ante*, note [3] on p. 40.

[3] Mundy is repeating the usual opinion of his time, when coral was looked upon as a marine plant. The coral of commerce is, however, made up of a rock formed by the hard skeletons of various marine organisms, but in the "live" coral of the tropical reefs, the organisms are still living on the surface of the rock formed by the skeletons of their predecessors, so the reef appears soft and "alive" on the surface. It was this fact no doubt that led to the idea of coral being a plant which became petrified after death.

Forth into all quarters off thatt little land by a Multitude off little Christall springs who running in and oute, att length Meete other off their Consorts and conjoyning their Forces make sundry pretty rilletts and bigger Rivers. The lower land ready to recompence the industrious hand off the husbandman, giving largely off its owne accord beefforehand to encourage his hopes to expect good content and future satisfaction For his labours. And as I once said upon report[1], soe Now againe by experience (off that little which I saw) off this Iland, Thatt in my opinion there is nott under the Sunne a More pleasauntt healthy and Fruittffull peece off ground For an Iland inhabited.

Itt was first Found outt by the Portugalls and Named Isla das Cernas or Ile off Batts[2] (For the number and greattnesse off those creatures there Found), And by them supplied with Bullocks, goates and hogges there to encrease For reffreshing of their shippes in tymes past as they should com thatt way; the like att St Hellena. Butt Now they have Forsaken both these places, or rather are Driven From them by the Comming in off the Dutch and English into India etts. these parts[3].

New Named by the Hollanders.

The Hollanders (att their First comming to it [in 1598]) in remembraunce and honour off their Prince off Orange, Named itt Mauritius, hee beeing then so called[4].

[1] See vol. II. pp. 318—319.

[2] There is no Portuguese word "cernas" meaning "bats," so Mundy's derivation is wrong. Valentyn, V. (Mauritius) 154, says that the Portuguese called the island "Ilha do Cerne" or Isle of Swans, but there is no word "cerne" meaning "swan" in Portuguese, so that derivation, too, is wrong. As a matter of fact, the Portuguese seem to have called the island Cirné after one of the discovering ships so named. See Leguat, ed. Oliver, II., Appendix A, 314—317.

[3] The first Dutch settlement at Mauritius was made in 1639 under Pieter de Goyer (See Leguat, ed. Oliver, II. 148 note). The Dutch abandoned the island in 1712 and the French took possession of it in 1715 but made no settlement there until six years later.

[4] Maurice of Nassau, 1567—1625.

Lettres left on shoare.

Our Captayne left a lettre on shoare on Coopers Iland[1] adjoyning to the Northwest harbour aforementioned, Declaring the cause off our comming hither, with sundry passages att and Since our Departure From Achein. Itt was putt into a peece off wood, having an augur hole bored into it, and soe hung on a braunche off a tree att an accustomed place For the Next Commers. Wee expected to have Found lettres here, all shippes usually leaving some; butt wee Found none. They putt them into stones bottles, stopping them close, soe hang them on the trees here with their bottomes upwards. Thus Much For this Iland.

Wee had very Milde and temperate wether the tyme off our little stay here, butt att length it beegan to blow, the Moone beeing Now Neare the Full, att which tyme it is usually hard weather.

End of the 28th Relation.

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[1] Coopers Island, now known as the Isle des Tonnelliers, at the entrance to the Harbour of Port Louis, seems to have retained its English name for some time after the occupation of Mauritius by the French, in 1721—2. In a collection of Dalrymple's Charts at the India Office, there is one of the north-west of Mauritius by John Blake, dated 1738, where the place still appears as Coopers Island, but in later charts (of 1753 and 1755) in the same collection, it is designated "I. des Tonneliers or Coopers I." Coopers Bay is mentioned in a letter left by President Fremlen and Captain John Proud at Madagascar in July 1644 (Foster, *English Factories*, 1642—1645, p. 187): "They anchored at first off Carpenters Bay [Mauritius], but on learning that the *Hopewell* was lying in Coopers Bay, they removed thither." Coopers Bay was apparently the bay between Coopers Island and the mainland and Carpenters Bay, the present Harbour of Port Louis.

RELATION XXIX.

FROM THE ILAND OF MAURITIUS UNTO THE ILAND OF MADAGASCAR OR ST LAURENCE WHERE WEE WINTRED[1] *VIZ.*:

Wee sett saile from Mauritius.

The 18th of this Month (A[p]rill Anno 1638). Aboutt Noone wee sett sayle From the Iland of Mauritius.

The 19th Ditto. Wee saw the Iland of Mascarennas[2] aboutt some 30 leagues Distance From the Mauritius.

The last of this Month itt beegan to blow very hard.

Abstractte of partt of the Month of Aprill Anno 1638[3].

Sayled in partt of this Month the some of Myles: 1244.

A storme.

May Day or the First of May. Sometymes Ominous[4]. Wee had a storme of wynde allthough somwhatt

[1] The full headline in the MS. to this Relation is, "China voiage Homeward bound From the Iland of Mauritius unto the Iland of Madagascar."

[2] Mascarenhas, named (in 1505) after its Portuguese discoverer Pedro Mascarenhas, was colonised by the French about 1640 and renamed Bourbon.

[3] The "Abstractte" contains no remarks beyond those already given above.

[4] By the Romans the month of May, the third of the old Roman Calendar and the fifth of the modern year, was regarded as unlucky for marriages, and the superstition has survived in England to the present day. In Essex the old rhyme, "Marry in May, fade and die away" is still often heard.

large[1], with raine. There Followed in our wake sundry sea-ffowles as Pintados, Pettrells, Alcatrazes, etts.

Pintados is a Fowle well knowne and Much Noted by Seamen in these partts: Found no where butt aboutt Cape Bona-esperanza allthough seene sometymes 4 or 500 leagues off of it to the Northward and Southward off itt, aboutt the biggnesse of Pidgeons[2]. They Dive under water For their Meatt butt stay nott long. Our boies[3] caughtt Diver[s] with hookes and lynes bayted. They are butt leane, soe lett them Fly againe; some off them not able to stand or helpe themselves, beeing laid Downe on the Decke, having lost the use of their legges questionlesse by beeing long att Sea, and as itt were lost on this greatt willdernesse of waters, wandring to and Fro, where they Feede, rest and sleepe, perhappes Not in Many monthes Comming Near any land, usually resorting to shippes as the[y] passe this way, and keepe company a long tyme. Letter A is their backe side as they Fly; letter B the belly; and C as they swymme[4].

Pittrells, the smallest Sea Fowle thatt useth the Ocean, seldome seene Neare land, like unto a Swallow, Near off the Coullour and not much bigger. They goe Most commonly Flittring close to the water, ever and anon striking it with their Feete and rebounding upward with the helpe off their wings allsoe; the sight off them unwellcome to the Seamen because, as some say, they presage Fowle weather[5].

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[1] A nautical expression, said of a wind that crosses the line of the ship's course in a favourable direction, especially on the beam or quarter.

[2] See vol. II. pp. 6—7, for Mundy's previous reference to the Cape-Pigeon or Pintado Petrel (*Daption capensis*).

[3] Mundy is using a Cornish provincialism (peculiar also to other localities in the British Isles) by which all males are termed "boys."

[4] See Illustration No. 44.

[5] One of the species of petrels resembling the common Storm-petrel or "Mother Carey's chicken" (*Procellaria pelagica*) of the North Atlantic, which is believed by seamen to be a harbinger of bad weather. See Dampier, ed. Masefield, II. 408—409.

Allcatrazes is againe the biggest of any Seaffowle I have yett seene, spreading Near 6 or 7 Foote with his wings, which hee seemeth not to Move att all as hee Flyeth leisurely and close to the Rymme off the water, only stretched out, which may seeme straunge how they should bee supported and have that Motion Forth and backe and round aboutt without perceavaunce thatt they stirre their wings att all; the like is by the lesser sort[1].

Wee cutt uppe our boate.

The 2d of May 1638. Wee cutt uppe a greatt boate which wee boughtt att Achein to supply our occasiones instead off a long boate, because by Seas breaking in into her and her owne waightt shee Much wrongued [injured] the shippe side, which was low and her upper worcke nott very stronge. Much off the water went beetween the Deckes, where among the reste itt Damniffied [spoiled] some silke stuffes off Myne owne by trusting and Depending too Much on others. And thereffore lett any man in such cases in these voyages looke himselffe to whatt may concerne him or see thatt others Doe it, especially if [he] bee badly beeffreinded.

Contrary windes.

From the 3d to the 20th of May [1638], a continuall contrary Westerly Winde, For the Most part of the tyme stormy, Now and then a cessation, or rather a Breathing to beegin affresh.

Stormy weather and contrary windes: greatt Seas.

The 20th afforesaid [*May* 1638]. Itt blew soe hard, with such violentt perries[2] and gusts off wynde, with

[1] Mundy is describing the Albatross (*Diomeda exulans*) of the Southern Ocean, Port. *Alcatraz*, a pelican. See Dampier (ed. Masefield, 1. 512), who calls these birds "Algatrosses."

[2] See *ante*, note on p. 28.

raine, thatt wee lying atry[1] with Maine corse[2] and Mizzen, itt brake our Mayne tacke[3] and presently rentt much off the Mayne coarse outt off the boltrope[4], splitting itt thwartt and alongste: The rough and Furious windes soe handling the new strong boisterous [stout] Double canvas as if it were sofftt Sarcenett [silk], causing it to give, with the lee loose side beeing ravelled, such smarting Flerckes [sharp jerks] thatt they exceeded the report off a Caliver[5] in the Manner as boies strike with a sling or a lynnen cloth. Uppon this our Mizzen tye or halliards brake, and Downe came the yard. The sea was growne very high and Outtrageous, of which wee shipped Divers greatt and Daungerous, especially one which did us much harme. It came forward and brake away her [the ship's] head leaving the mayne knee[6], Drave her bulkhead into the Cooke-roome, making a spacious passage For whatt More should come after, shooke our boltspritt and hazarded the breaking off itt with the losse of our Foremast, powring into our shippe a Floud of waters.

A Dangerous and Doubtfull case.

These violentt wyndes and seas incident to these partts att this tyme of the year (beeing winter), especially this last, so staggered our weake vessell nott Fitted For these occasiones, whome wee now putt to triall, Finding her to worcke as easy and gently as could bee desired.

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[1] See *ante*, note on p. 31.

[2] The term "course" indicating each of the sails attached to the lower yards of a ship formerly included the stay-sails upon the lower masts, but is now restricted to the fore-sail and main-sail (fore-course and main-course).

[3] A rope (or chain) and hook to secure to the ship's side the windward slews or corners of the courses of a sailing ship when sailing close hauled on a wind.

[4] A rope sewed all round the edge of the sail to prevent the canvas from tearing.

[5] Caliver, a light kind of musket or harquebus.

[6] "Knees" were naturally angular timbers used to connect the beams and sides of a (wooden) ship at bulkheads.

Wee beare uppe For St Lawrence : a greatt way for a harbour.

Having taken in soe much water by seas and leakes (thatt our Men had much adoe to Free her in a long tyme with 2 Chaine pumpes and bayling) thatt wee held itt impossible For us to wether the Cape For this tyme (beeing by computation within 100 leagues off itt). Finding the difficulty and Daunger soe great to strive against the Elements with our sea shaken, Dutch built, weake, leaky and Ironsicke[1] shippe ; not able to endure these Seas any longer withoutt apparentt perill ; Wee bore uppe the helme For St Laurence[2] (giving way to Necescity) there to winter, or rather to remayne till the extremity off the weather were overpast aboutt this Cape [of Good Hope], allthough Much against our wills and somewhatt to our Imployers hindrance[3]. For itt will cost some Monthes tyme More then if wee had weathered it, besides the running off 800 leagues More, *viz.*, 400 to St Lawrence and as much backe hither, A greatt way to beare uppe For a harbour, there beeing None other Nearer thatt is knowne to bee soe commodious, saffe and convenientt as Augustine bay[4]. Butt had the shippe bin sufficientt [in good condition], wee mightt No Doubtt have gotten aboutt by plying to windeward 4 or 5 Daies longer, by reason off a greatt currantt allwaies observed hereabóutts to sett to the westwards against the winde ; And then by Gods grace wee mightt have arrived in England in September Next.

[1] The term "ironsick" was formerly applied to a wooden ship, the bolts and nails of which had become so corroded with rust as to make her leaky.

[2] Madagascar. See vol. II. pp. 7, 8, 12—13, for Mundy's previous visit to this island.

[3] Mandelslo had a similar experience in April—May 1639 (pp. 200—203), and was also obliged to put into Madagascar.

[4] St Augustine's Bay, or the estuary of the river Onilahy at the S.W. of Madagascar. The bay is called Isalaré by the natives.

which now perhappes Nott to bee effected till Marche or Aprill Following, For itt is allsoe Daungerous comming on our [own] Coast in winter.

In conclusion, as beeforesaid, wee bore uppe before the winde, When by and by came another Sea rightt asterne and brake into the greatt Cabbin att 2 ports or gunholes which were made very Fast with boards and barres; butt all gave way, soe to avoid this inconvenience allsoe, wee steered away quarter windes[1] For a while.

A Daungerous place: St Lawrence Seene.

The 2d off June [1638]. Wee saw a greatt breach off the sea [heavy breakers] Nott 2 leagues From [us][2], as allsoe the land off St Lawrence, From which the said breach lyeth aboutt 6 or 7 leagues, a very Daungerous place and careffully to bee avoided, Nothing appearing above water butt the breach and Ravelling[3] off the Sea. Itt is Noted and sett Downe in the Sea Card or Mappe.

The 3d [*June* 1638]. Wee saw no More pintados, allthough yesterday wee Did, they having keptt us company Many Daies, loosing us in the Nightt and Fetching us uppe againe in the Morning, the same Fowle, as wee conceave. By report seldome or Never are any off them Seene att Saint Laurence or Augustine Bay. Wee coasted itt along the shoare, a Sweete levell land to see to, Finding a Currantt to have hindred us aboutt 40 Miles in 24 howres. From our First bearing uppe unto this Day, a Constant Faire wind (according as wee were bound) and Faire weather.

[1] "Quartering," or sailing with the wind on the quarter.

[2] The Star Reefs outside St Augustine's Bay, which are very dangerous. See Horsburgh, *East India Directory*, ed. 1852, I. 197.

[3] There is no example in the O.E.D. of the term "ravelling" applied to the sea. It may either indicate the confused rising of the foam or the turning and tossing of the waves over the sunken rocks.

The 4th currantt [*June* 1638]. Wee came and Anchored by the 2 smalle Ilands Nere A[u]gustine bay[1], where came to us a prow with sundry sorts of Fishes, whereoff some straunge, as per the Figures in Folio 169 Following[2].

The 5th June[3] 1638. Wee wayed and came to Augustyne Bay where wee Anchored.

Abstracte of the Month off May and some part off June Anno 1638.

5*th May*.	Stopped 2 leakes.
6*th May*.	Lay a Drifftt 2 howres.
8*th May*.	Lay a Try by reason off much Winde.
9*th May*.	Sett our foresaile and topsailes.
11*th May*.	Thunder and lightning, gusts and Rayne.
14*th May*.	Looked outt For land butt saw None.
15*th May*.	A greatt westerly sea, gusts and Raine.
18*th May*.	A try part of the Day.
20*th May*.	The winds westerly with gusts and Raine. A storme beegun.
21*st May*.	A storme outtright. Wee bore uppe For St Laurence.
23*rd May*.	E. longitude according as wee accompt ourselves to bee From the Cape.
1*st June*.	Land seene.
3*d June*.	Lay short[4] 3 Nights from the 31th May.

[1] The two islets at the S. entrance of St Augustine's Bay are mentioned by Middleton (1607). Beaulieu (1620) also remarks on the "deux îlettes de sable qui sont à trois lieues de la baie de Saint-Augustin lesquelles paraissaient batturiérés autour [entourées de hauts-fonds] et sont fort basses, n'y ayant aucun arbre dessus." The smaller island is only a sandbank, the larger, about 1 mile long and 2 miles wide, is called Nosy Vé or L'Ile du Cercueil. See Grandidier, *Ouvrages anciens concernant Madagascar*, I. 402—403; II. 335.

[2] See Illustration No. 52.

[3] The MS. has "September," which is obviously a slip on Mundy's part.

[4] Probably synonymous with "lying-to." Sail is shortened, or reduced to a very small amount of canvas; the remaining sails are trimmed so as to counteract one another and keep the ship

4th June. These 3 Daies along by the shoare.

5th June. Anchored in Augustine Bay on St Lawrence.

Gon the Month of May and part off June the some off Miles, 2469.

The Fresh River.

The 9th off June [1638]. Wee wentt with our skiffe to the Fresh River[1], which was Much alltred since my last beeing here, Now Nere uppon 10 yeares since[2]. Wee wentt uppe a Foote on the sand and oaze. Some 2 or 3 Miles by the way wee saw gunny henns such as are att Molala and Johana[3], and partridges like to those in England[4], off which wee killed some. There were alsoe cotton shrubbes[5], Palmito trees[6] and the herbe porcelane[7] For sallett.

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stationary; and the helm is lashed "hard-a-lee" to keep her head to the wind. It was, and perhaps will be again, quite a common thing for fishing craft in the North Sea to ride out a gale in this way with the whole crew below, one or other of them popping up his head now and then just to see that all is safe and snug. I am indebted for this note to Mr George T. Temple, author of the *Admiralty Pilots for Norway*.

[1] The river of St Augustine or Onilâhy (Male River). Robert Drury, p. 457, remarks, "St. Augustine Bay, in which is a fresh Water River, with 12 Foot Water at Spring Tides; it flows S.S.E. and N.N.W."

[2] In July 1628. See vol. II. p. 7.

[3] Mundy touched at Molala (or Mohilla), Comoro Islands, in August 1628. See vol. II. p. 14 for his remarks on the "Guinny henns" there. He stayed at Johanna on the outward voyage to China in September 1636. (See pp. 32–42, but there is no mention of guinea-fowls.) The species peculiar to Madagascar (Malagasy, *akánga*), is *Numida mitrata*, distinguished by its red crown.

[4] The Madagascar partridge, *Margaro-perdrix striata*, the male of which is spotted with white. See Dubois, ed. Oliver, pp. 67, 121. See also J. Sibree Jun., *Madagascar Ornithology* (*Antananarivo Annual*, XIII. 286).

[5] Dubois (ed. Oliver), p. 66, says, "There [Madagascar] grow also cotton trees, from which they take the cotton to make their *lámbas* [calico outer garments]."

[6] One of the species of Fan-palm found in Western Madagascar possibly *Hyphæne Schatan*, called *Sátrana* by the natives. See *infra*, p. 390, for Mundy's remarks on its fruit.

[7] Purslane (*Portulaca oleracea*), a low succulent herb, widely distributed in tropical regions. Dubois, ed. Oliver, p. 69, also mentions the existence of purslane in Madagascar. Sir David Prain refers me to Gerard, *Herbal*, ed. Johnson, 1636, as a proof that the name "porcelane" was current in Mundy's time.

A village : The Manner of living of the Country people.

Wee came at last to a village off the Natives, beeing a Few low hovells off Cajannes[1] among the Palmito trees, Their Cattle aboutt them, they beeing their Mayne substance with which they remoove From place to place as wee read the Tartars Doe, there beeing land enough to raunge, allthough limitted, For itt seemes they live under petty governmentts, those under others, and those againe acknowlidge a Supreame[2]. Off these petty Regimentts [Chiefs] our English have bin acquainted with some, as Andropela and Setunga[3] on this side the River, and Massacore[4] on the other[5]. How Farre their Jurisdiction extends wee know nott.

Whatt is the best trucke att St Lawrence For reffreshing.

Wee could not trucke [barter] with the People att thatt tyme, they holding their Cattle very Dear. Thatt thatt is Most precious amongst them are long square red

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[1] Palm-leaf thatch. See *ante*, note on p. 132. See also Dellon, p. 18, for a description of houses at Madagascar.

[2] Compare Mandelslo, p. 256, "The Inhabitants of Madagascar are divided into several Tribes, which consist of Cantons of a 100, 200, and 300 persons, and live like Tartars, under a chief." See also Dubois, ed. Oliver, p. 49; Flacourt, p. 3.

[3] Andríana (My Lord) Palola (or Andríampéla) and the Shekh of Tanga. The former was chief of the coast of St Augustine at the time of Richard Boothby's visit to Madagascar in 1630 and is by him styled "Andreew Pela." See Grandidier, *Les Anglais à Madagascar au XVIIe siècle*, p. 30 *f.n.* For the meanings and forms of Malagasy titles, see the end of this *Relation*.

[4] Mundy, Boothby and Mandelslo all took the word *masikóro* to be a proper noun, whereas it signifies an inhabitant of the interior in contradistinction to *vézo*, an inhabitant of the coast. Dubois (ed. Oliver), p. 50, and Flacourt, pp. 4, 43, 44, speak of the province of "Machicore" by which they mean the interior of the island. See Grandidier, *op. cit., loc. cit.*

[5] Mandelslo, p. 256, calls these chiefs "Andiam palola, Schich Tango and Machicore," and says that, in 1639, they allied themselves with "King Massar" [Mahatsara] to "set upon some of their neighbours who had better pastures than theirs."

Corneleon beades, by some called bloud stones[1], off which 7 or 8 will buy a good bullocke, and 9 or 10 when they are Dear[2]; butt they must bee off the best sort, long, Cleare and red, nott cloudy, and nothing butt the said beades will goe For beeves[3]. As For sheepe, hennes, Fish, Milke, Orenges, etts., they May bee had For bigge brasse wyre, Now growne in request to hang in their eares, aboutt their Neckes and armes; allsoe round red small Cornelien beads, Callico, blew glasse beades, etts.

Crocodiles or Aligators.

Returning homeward, wee had sightt of the biggest Aligator (or Crocodile)[4] that as yett I ever saw, who lay on the sand, butt having espied us, gotte into the water. Wee shotte att another lesser, butt hee allsoe gotte away.

Another village: Their Idoll.

Wee landed to reffresh ourselves with a little meat under the trees, hard by another off their poore habitations There wee boughtt a Nett off a Fisherman on which were Fastned shells in lieu off lead, and little peeces off lightt smoothpared boards instead off Carks[5].

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[1] Cornelian (cornelion), a red variety of chalcedony. The term "bloodstone" is usually applied to a variety of green chalcedony.

[2] At Mundy's previous visit to Madagascar bullocks had also been obtained in exchange for "Cornelion beades" (vol. II. p. 13). For modern Malagasy currency before the French occupation, see *Indian Antiquary*, XXXI. 109ff.

[3] Richard Boothby (who wrote "*A Breife Discovery of Madagascar*," pub. 1646) endorses the statement that *hárangárana*, cornelians of Indian workmanship, cut in the shape of an olive, or spindle, were preferred to any other article of barter. The clearer the stone the greater the value. See Grandidier, *Ouvrages anciens concernant Madagascar*, II. 434. Mandelslo, pp. 253, 254, also remarks, "We bought . . . four Oxen for forty pair of glass bracelets, which the Inhabitants call Rangus . . . The President presented him [the Chief and his sons] with . . . Strings of Glass Coral . . . they highly valued them."

[4] Crocodiles (Malagasy, *mámba*) abound in the rivers and lakes of Madagascar. See *Antananarivo Annual*, XII. 439.

[5] There is no example of this spelling of "cork" in the *O.E.D*

Allsoe some off their superstitious Devotion on a post, *viz.*, Many smalle peeces off stickes Fastned together with Alligators teeth, thridd beads, etts., all greazed over ; att the Foote off the post a little Fire on a stone[1].

Land Crabbes.

Aboutt this place were great store off those wee call land Crabbes[2], who have their holes uppe in the woodes a good Distance From the water side. Some off them wee tried, and Found thatt they went Downe Winding Near 4 or 5 Foote, there beeing water att the bottome. Into these they ran in and outt on the least stirring, they beeing very vigilantt.

A greatt Sharcke.

Thatt evening when wee retourned aboard, where our people had caught with a hooke a Monstrous sharcke, it beeing aboutt 10 Foote in length and the biggest thatt as yett I ever saw[3].

Reffreshing brought aboard.

In these 4 or 5 Daies were broughtt aboard off us pretty store off Fresh Fish, garavansos[4], etts.

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[1] Mundy is describing one of the Sacred Posts erected outside Malagasy towns and villages, in this instance connected with some local tribal superstition. Such posts are usually memorials to the dead, and the articles on them are intended to show the wealth of the deceased. Ceremonies in connection with them take the form of ancestor worship.

[2] The generic name is *fóza*, and there are many species.

[3] See vol. II. p. 16 for Mundy's previous remarks on, and his illustration of, a shark.

[4] Garavansos (variously spelt, garvances, gravances, calavances, callivances, caravances, etc.), derived from the Spanish *garbanzo*, chickpea, a name for certain varieties of pulse. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Calavance. The *O.E.D.* has no example of the use of the word between 1620 and 1767. Robert Drury, who was in Madagascar in the early part of the 17th century, says, p. 65, " She order'd some Carravances to be boil'd for our Dinner ; a Kind of Pulse much like our grey Pease." Grandidier, in his ed. of Drury's narrative (*Ouvrages anciens concernant Madagascar*, vol. IV) explains " carravance " (foot-

The Master of the shippe Dead and buried on shoare.

The 10th June [1638]. Mr Thomas Woollman, our Master, Died[1], and was buried in a decentt Manner, with 3 volleies of Smalle shotte and 4 peeces off greatt ordnance, the even Number off greatt gunnes allwaies signiffying the Death off some principall Man or officer in the shippe[2].

The 11th [*June* 1638] was broughtt aboard store of lemmons (as wee call them), beeing beetweene an orenge and a lemmon, very great and good[3], though Deare; allsoe Fish, as sundry sortts, a lobster and shellfishes alive, off great bignesse, admirable, straunge and various in Forme and collours.

Mr Thomas Robinson died: Buried.

The 16th currantt [*June* 1638]. Died Mr Thomas Robinson, Merchantt, who had long tyme served the East India Company in places off quallity in sundry parts off India, as well to the Northward as Southward: A man much experienced in Merchandizing these waies, A good penman For his Invention[4], a Scholler and off

note to p. 72) as a small round bean, *lojo*, the fruit of an imported variety, *voanemba*, which Flacourt, p. 18, calls "voanghambe." See *Indian Antiquary*, XXXI. 391, for examples of the use of the word from 1700 up to 1900 when it appears as an article in the menu of a P. & O. boat as "calavance curry," meaning "curried *dāl* (dholl)."

[1] See *ante*, pp. 250, 251, for previous mentions of the Master (or chief navigating officer) of the *Sun*. From his will (*P.C.C.* 14 *Harvey*) "dated aboord the good Ship *Sunne*," 1st June 1638, we learn that he was "late of Shadwell in co. Middlesex," and that he had two brothers, Robert and Matthew. The "Overseers" to the will, which was proved by his widow, "Margery Wollman," on the 10th January 1639, were Captain Richard Swanley and William Gorle, the witnesses being John Randall and John Stanley.

[2] For confirmation of Mundy's statement as to the even number of guns, see *MS. Discourse on Marine Affairs* in Harl. Coll. No. 1341 (N. and Q. 12 S. v. 106). But see also *ante*, p. 33, *n.* 3, for an uneven number.

[3] Mundy is describing a shaddock, which is found on some parts of the coast. The native lime is *vóamandiná*.

[4] "Invention" seems to be used in its obsolete sense of "literary composition," and the phrase "A good penman For his Invention" would thus signify "a good writer of literary composition."

a good estate; One in his tyme who underwentt greatt Imployments and Much Misery (by his owne and [o]thers reports); And now att length Death hath putt a period to all his greatt travells and troubles[1].

The 17th [June 1638]. Hee was buried on shoare Neare unto Mr Woolman and in the same Manner, only a little addittion off some Martiall and Mournefull Ceremonies More then to the Former.

Circumcision used att St Laurence.

The 23d off June [1638] (beeing Midsummer Eave with us, allthough here Middwinter in respect off Coldnesse, beeing in the opposite tropicke to us and consequently contrary in the weather), These people Circumzized a couple of boies. From whence they had the Ceremony and how long I know nott[2]. But I Dare say the[y] are nott Mahometaines, because they know nott the name of Mahomett, Nor were acquainted with that greatt and generall rule off Mohometisme, *viz.*, La Illalla Mahamett Resul Alla, universally knowne

[1] For a notice of Thomas Robinson, see Appendix B.

[2] The custom of circumcision in Madagascar is usually supposed to be of Arab origin. It always takes place about full moon. See D'Escamps, *Histoire et Géographie de Madagascar*, pp. 441—443 for an account of present day ceremonies connected with the rite. Compare also the following remarks by early travellers on religion in Madagascar:—"Au fond ils sont Mussulmans, quoiqu'ils prétendent le contraire, car ils ont plusieurs pratiques de la loi de Mahomet, tel que le jeûne, la circoncision, la polygamie, etc., et, tout en ne connaissant pas l'islamisme, ils sont très attachés aux usages qu'ils tiennent de cette maudite secte et qu'ils observent . . ." Lettre *du Père Custodio da Costa au Père Provincial de Goa* [October 1617], *Ouvrages anciens concernant Madagascar*, II. 169. "Pour ce qui regarde la Religion, ils n'en ont aucune, ils ne font aucunes prières, n'ont aucun Temple; ils ont seulement en usage la Circoncision." Flacourt, p. 59.

It is, however, doubtful (as the observant Mundy has noted) that the religion of the Malagasy has much of Islām in it. They have had of old a deistic religion of a Semitic (probably Phoenician) origin, into which idolatry and fetishism from the African coast and also Islām have been introduced. Many old customs, proverbs and words show this (*e.g.*, Andriamánitra, "noble of sweet savour," *i.e.*, incorruptible, is the old name for the Creator). See W. E. Cousins, *The Ancient Theism of the Hovas, Antananarivo Annual*, I. 5—11; J. Cameron, *On the Early Inhabitants of Madagascar, op. cit.* III. 1—10.

by all Mussullmen or Mahometaines off what Nation soever, beeing the First thing taughtt them[1].

Their Idoll and Altar.

There were certaine stakes pitched uppe as in part is Formerly Discribed[2], having on each stake made uppe among the rest (*viz.* Aligators teeth, beads, peeces off stickes, etts.) 2 toppes off bullockes hornes, I say the smaller ends, with stoppes in, wherin was somwhatt they would not have Meddled withall[3]; Allsoe a whole plant off Aloes and the Foreskynne off the boies (the one beeing aboutt 8 and the other aboutt 10 yeares off age) tied in a Cotton thredde Fastned to the said post, att the Foote wherof there was a little Fire wherin they burned some kind off Gumme For a perffume.

A Sacrifice.

After the Circumcision they killed a Couple off Kine Firste, Setungaes[4] brother, who was Father to one of the boies, strucke the Cow with his launce through and through the Necke with one thrust, in such a place thatt instantly the bloud gushed outt amayne on both sides off her Necke, wherof they tooke some and anointed the afforesaid posts. The Figure and Manner off them I have above Deciphered[5]. Then they houghed her hinder legges, Cutt off her tayle and hornes, after thatt covered her with boughes and bushes, and setting Fire

[1] And not infrequently in remote countries, beyond a few garbled Arab customs, the only thing taught them. *Lā ilāha ill' illahu Muhammadi' r-Rasūlu' llahu* (There) is no God except the God; Muhammad is the Prophet of the God; the Muhammadan "Creed."

For "Musslemen" as the English folk-plural of Musalmān, itself a plural of Muslim, see *Indian Antiquary*, XXXIII. 204. "Musselwoman" has also been perpetrated (*ibid.*, XXII. 112).

[2] See *ante*, p. 368.

[3] A charm or talisman (*ódy*, Prov. *aóly* and *óly*), consisting of the end of a bullock's horn containing sand soaked in grease, fragments of parchment covered with cabalistic signs, little bits of wood, etc.

[4] See *ante*, note [3] on p. 366. [5] See Illustration No. 45.

off them singed and scraped her cleane; then cutt her in peeces. Distributing it among the people, they Dresse and eatt itt. Many other ceremonies they used, as long Orationes, songs, etts.; butt whatt the Meaning off them were, or of any other thing of their Religion wee could not come to learne For wantt of an interpreter[1].

Whatt handecraffts they have.

Some Manuall trades they have among them, *viz.* Smithes which make the heads etts. of their launces, which they keepe very cleane, brightt and sharpe; allsoe knives, etts.

Weavers thatt make their lunghees or wastcloathes[2], even as some Make loome lace, having a long sticke instead off [a shuttle]: their [loom] Fastned on the ground, on woodden pinnes[3].

Spynners thatt spynne their Cotton yearne, which they Doe with spindles as att Bayon in France[4], etts., butt after another Manner, rubbing or rouling the spindle on their thigh when they would have itt twist or turne.

Dyers thatt Dy the said yarne, which they Doe with rindes off trees, having broughtt some off itt aboard to trucke. Potters: For wee saw Divers pottes wherin they sodde their Flesh, Fish, Garavansos[5], etts.

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[1] This appears to refer to a heathen custom of the kind that made D'Escamps (pp. 439—441) state that the religion of the Malagasy is a mixture of deism and fetishism derived from their Kāfir, Malay and Arab ancestors.

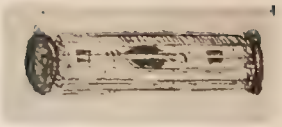
[2] Mundy is using the Malay word *lunggī* to designate the *lámba* of the Malagasy.

[3] Mundy's description of weaving at Madagascar in 1638 is applicable to the present day. See D'Escamps, p. 450; *Antananarivo Annual*, IX. 93.

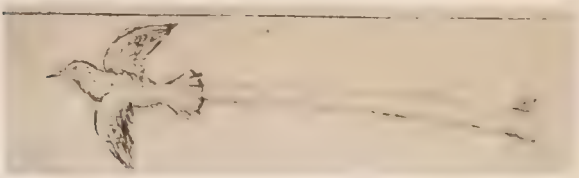
[4] Mundy went to Bayonne in 1609 to "learne the French Tongue." See vol. I. p. 13. The small spindles used by the Malagasy are called *ampéla*, which, as J. Wills (*Native Products used in Malagasy Industries*, *Antananarivo Annual*, IX. 93) remarks, "is also one of the words for a girl, affording an interesting parallel with the origin of the English word "spinster." See also Capt. S. P. Oliver, *Madagascar*, II. 81.

[5] See *ante*, note [4] on p. 368.

No. 46. Prowes [at Madagascar].



No. 47. Ambolo: an Instrument of Musicke.



No. 49. A small Foule or Bird.

No. 50. A Cameleon.

No. 51. Beeves, Sheepe, Guinny hennes.

Husbandry: as wee might see by the Sundry sorts off graine which they broughtt and shewed us, as all the ordring of their Cattle.

Carpenters thatt make their Prowes, lances, Boothes or tabernacles, etts.

Fishermen thatt catch and take Fishe sundry Manner off waies, as with Netts which they make themselves, lynes, and hookes like Crooked Nailes, allsoe by Darting att them with their lances—all this sometymes Nere the shore; sometymes Farther outt in their prowes, which is the living of the poorer sorte thatt have No cattle, Feeding allsoe on sundry sorts of shellffish, here in abundance. Their prowes ar thus[1].

Fowlers: For they take Foule with gunnes, etts.

Ambolo, an Instrument of Musicke.

They are nott alltogether void off Musicke, For beesides their ordinary singuing, they have a little Instrumentt aboutt a Foote in length named Ambolo[2], made of a Cane. The said Instrumentts and strings all of one peece, cutt outt off the same, beeing certaine thrids raised outt off the grayne off the Cane which runne from Joint to Joint, which as they would have to sound higher or lower, so accordingly they Force uppe certaine little wedges thatt are under the ends off the strings.

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[1] See Illustration No. 46. The prow depicted is the Malagasy outrigged canoe used by the Sakaláva of the S.W. coast. See Capt. S. P. Oliver, *Madagascar*, I. 435 (quoting Sibree, *The Great African Island*, p. 177). For the many uses of the Malay term prow (*prāū*, *prāhū*), see *ante*, *Relation* XXIII. pp. 132–133; *Indian Antiquary*, XXIII. 256.

[2] *Ambólo*, a guitar (usually called *valíha* and Prov. *vadíha*) made out of a bamboo by cutting the smooth outer skin into strings, joint to joint, to about two feet in length, with bridges from the rind of a gourd. It is tuned by moving the bridges up or down. The Malagasy are good natural musicians, picking up English tunes with ease. This is remarkable, as their scale is the usual Oriental scale and incompatible with that of the modern European. I am indebted to Archdeacon Cory for the above information. See also G. A. Shaw, *Malagasy Musical Instruments* (*Antananarivo Annual*, VII. 85).

Itt is somwhatt after this Manner[1]. They allsoe assemble the people by the sound off a greatt shell off some wilke, sea snayle, etts[2].

Greatt springs off Fresh water.

Rightt ashoare, thwartt off our shippe, Near our tentts, From under the hill aboutt low water Marke within the Distance of ½ a Flight shotte, there Issues outt such aboundance of Fresh water thatt alltogether would Make a pretty River. Such a quantity in soe little space off ground as yett Never saw Nor Feltt soe Warme. Whither by any other extraordinary cause then the heat off the sunne on the hill I know nott, butt itt was Milk warme att the very Issuing places[3]

Two blackes runaway: A Tumult pacified.

This Monthe 2 blackes boughtt att Johanna[4] ran away From the shippe who spake this Country language; yett had they Nott soe much off oures as to make us well understand their Meaning. And For our matter off trading with these people, beeing only For provisions, there needs nott much Interpreters, for the utterance off booes, baaes, is as good language For bullocks and sheepe as the best; and soe for the rest with the helpe off Signes. These runawaies, to make their owne cases

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[1] See Illustration No. 47.

[2] Compare Drury, ed. Grandidier, p. 71, "One of the Negroes carry'd a large Shell, which, when he blow'd, sounded like a Post-boy's Horn." The editor has added the following footnote:—"Les Malagaches, comme les Tritons de la mythologie, se servaient et se sont servis jusque tout récemment de conques ou de grandes coquilles en spirale, qu'ils nomment *Antsiva*, comme de trompettes, soit pour appeler les soldats à la guerre, soit dans les cérémonies publiques" (*Ouvrages anciens concernant Madagascar*, vol. IV).

[3] The hot spring described by Mundy has, apparently, now disappeared, since it is not mentioned in any survey of the South-west coast to which I have had access. See Capt. S. P. Oliver, *Madagascar*, I. 191, 273.

[4] See *ante*, pp. 32–42 for the sojourn of Courteen's fleet at Anjuan or Johanna (Comoro Is.) in 1636.

the better it seemes, gave outt some Falce Infformation against us, For presently [immediately] after they beegan to Drive away their Cattle, their weomen to carry away their Children, houshould stuffe, etts. (which was butt little), and all in generall to Forsake their houses or hovells, alledging they Did it uppon rumour off the Comming off their enemies. Howsoever, all was quickly quieted againe.

The shippe *Discovery* arrived : Whatt Newes by her.

The 24th of July [1638] came into the rode the shippe *Discovery* From England, beelonguing to the East India company, Captain William Minors Commaunder and Mr Andrew Coggins [Cogan] Cape Merchantt, with many under Factors, bound for Suratt[1]. By her wee understood off the health and prosperity off our Soveraigne [Charles I] to all our rejoycings, contrary to the report given outt by the Hollanders att Achein[2]. Butt whatt was told us by those whome wee mett in the straightts off Mallacca prooved to true, as the Death of Sir William Courteene and the Casting away of the *Palsgrave* etts[3].

By the said shippe *Discovery* wee understood off the Death of old Mr Mountney, husband to the East India Company 2 off whose sonnes were Cheiffe Factors in this Imploymentt[4]. Thatt Captaine William Bushell

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[1] The *Discovery*, commanded by Captain William Minors, left England in March 1638. Andrew Cogan, merchant, was designated by the Company to become a member of the Surat Council, but was eventually sent to Masulipatam in 1639 as Agent for the Coast. See Foster, *English Factories*, 1637—1641, p. xviii.

[2] This report was brought to Achin by a Dutch vessel from Pegu See *Relation* XXVII. p. 337.

[3] See *Relation* XXVII. p. 321.

[4] Richard Mountney, father of Nathaniel and John, served the East India Company, with some slight interruptions, as " Husband " from 1607 until July 1636, when " being discontented at the lessening of his salary, and having lately very much neglected his work," the Court resolved to dismiss him. In August of the same year he offered

was stabbed and killed by a Frenchman, man Ordinary[1], att Morbien[2] in Brittany, who had allsoe 2 sonnes now aboard off us, *viz.* William his eldest and Jeremy Weddell his sonne in law thatt Married his Daughter, beeing eldest sonne to our Admirall[3].

Off a Designe affoote in England in greatt Forwardnesse For a plantation to bee setled on the Iland off Mauritius and an intention For this place[4]: Off the taking of Sally in Barbary by Captain Rainesburrowe (who came to Constantinople att my beeing there) and off the honour and recompence Don unto him by our Kings Majesty[5].

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to resume his post at his former salary, but his proposal was rejected. (See *First Letter Book of the E. I. Co.*, p. 304 footnote; Sainsbury, *Court Minutes*, 1635—1639, pp. 185—187, 196). As "Husband" Mountney's duties appear to have been to safeguard the Company's interests in their relations with the Custom House (See quot. from *The Times* of 3rd August 1886 in the *O.E.D.*, *s.v.* Husband). He died in June 1637. See the account of Nathaniel and John Mountney in Appendix B.

[1] Mundy is apparently using "ordinary" in its obsolete sense of "ordinary seaman," in which case the word "man" seems superfluous.

[2] Morbihan, now a department of Western France, originally formed part of Lower Brittany.

[3] Captain William Bushell was owner and victualler of the *Neptune* employed in H.M.'s service in 1636. In 1637 his pay-book was found to be "very erroneous" and in January 1638 the Attorney-General was ordered to "proceed roundly" against him and others who had "set forth" ships in 1636 insufficiently provided with food and ammunition. Presumably Bushell fled the country and met with a violent end as narrated by Mundy, but I have failed to find any confirmation of the story. The effects of a William Bushell of Middlesex who died "in parts beyond the sea" were administered by his widow Rachel, "formerly of Stepney" on the 23rd February 1638. See *Calendar of State Papers, Dom.* 1636—1638; *P. C. C. Admons.*

[4] A design to colonize Madagascar had been set on foot by Prince Rupert, the King's nephew, in 1636, but sufficient means were not forthcoming. In 1638 the idea was revived, and Lord Arundel, the Earl Marshal, obtained the royal support. The scheme to colonize Mauritius was conceived by the Earl of Southampton, who was countenanced by the King, and in consequence equipped a vessel to take out the settlers in 1639.

As a result, however, of representations made by the E. I. Co., Charles I. revoked the patents and detained the Earl of Southampton's ship. See Mr Foster's Introduction to Sainsbury's *Court Minutes*, 1635—1639, pp. xxiii, xxvii—xxx. See also Grandidier, *Ouvrages anciens concernant Madagascar*, pp. 442—443.

[5] For a notice of Captain William Rainborow, who died in 1642, see the article in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, where he is first mentioned in

Allsoe thatt the shippe *Planter* (beeing 4th shippe in the Fleete when wee First came Forth[1]) Arrived in England in January last and was Dispeeded againe this way, and sett saile 3 Daies beffore them From the Downes.

A strange Deliverance.

There was a seaman in the shippe *Discovery* who sometyme came aboard off us. Hee was one of those thatt was in the *Maries* boate when shee was Driven From the shippe[2]. Hee said thatt beeing Driven by thatt extremity off weather they were Forced ashoare on the Mayne Nere Cunny Iland[3]. The boate beeing full of water and a greatt su[r]ffe on the shoare, those thatt could swymme, which were Most of the Men, threw themselves into the water to save their lives by swymming, butt were every Man Drowned; and 4 that could nott (wherof this was one) held Fast and kept themselves in the boate, and were all saved, For shee Drave ashore on ebbing water, soe shee remayned Dry, and they came saffely aland. And thus it pleaseth god to save some beyond expectation and to Divert the ordinary Meanes off preservation to others unto the Cheiffe cause off their Misery and Destruction. These 4 Men aforesaid wentt to table Bay, where after some Daies off Miseries endurance, they [? there] came in a Dutch shippe and

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1626. Mundy, however, who was at Constantinople from 1617 to 1620, must have known him at least six years earlier (See vol. I.). It was in February 1637 that Captain Rainborow was appointed to the *Leopard* and the command of a squadron to proceed to Sallee (Morocco) for the suppression of pirates. The mission was successful. The Moors were brought to terms and 389 captives were released. Captain Rainborow returned to England in October 1637, but I have found no mention of "the honour and recompence Don unto him." See *John Dunton's Journal of the Sally Fleet*, pub. 1638; *Calendar of State Papers, Dom.*, 1637; *P.C.C. Wills*, 1642 (51 Campbell).

[1] See *Relation* XXI. p. 22.

[2] See *Relation* XXI. p. 33.

[3] Now known as Dassen Island. It is 35 miles south of Cape Town.

brought them away; and one off them came Forth againe on the *Discovery* as afforesaid.

Our extremity: releiffe Desired From the *Discovery*.
All manner of soccour and supply
Denied publickely.

Our selves having rode here these Many Daies solitary, in some Distresse and presentt wantt, Fearing Much More For the Future, By reason that the beeing Forced backe hither will prolongue Many Monthes off our hoped and expected arrivall in England; and consequently the spending and impayring off our provision, stores, tackling, etts. The violence off the stormy [weather] beesides having Much shaken our Dutch built, deffective shippe, Soe thatt it was held very Daungerous to proceed on her For England[1], withoutt speedy helpe and supply, as well For reparationes to bee Don uppon her in stopping leakes, putting in New tymbers, planckes, Caulking, etts., as For provisiones, stores, etts. Wee made this our case knowne unto our New come Freinds, with some reasonable Demaunds For Remedy and relieffe off our shippe and selves[2], Butt were by them utterly Denied all and any part therof, Alleadging the[y] had order in their instructiones From their Masters Not to Furnish or assist any enterlopers or those thatt when they could nott Make their voyage would Fall to taking[3]. Such itt seemes they termed us implicitely by their Deniall.

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[1] In a letter to the Company of 29th July 1638, abstracted in *English Factories*, 1635—1639, pp. 82—83, Andrew Cogan remarked that the *Sun* was not fit for the voyage, "being a thin leake shipp, but single sheathed in England, and never trimd since she came from thence."

[2] See *infra* for a copy of the letter.

[3] In Captain Minor's letter to the Company of 28th July 1638, abstracted in *English Factories*, 1635—1639, pp. 81—82, he adds to the reasons given in the text that the "necessities" of the *Discovery* and her consorts would not permit of compliance with Captain Swanley's request.

In Fine, From a request wee were constrayned to Deliver a proteste requiring them in his Majesties beehalffe, whose subjectts wee all were and whome this Imployment Did much concerne, to releive us in this our extremity, when [if] not, thatt they were liable and should answeare For all losses, Dammages, enconveniences, etts. thatt Mightt ensue by the want off the saide provisiones, stores, etts., which now they mightt well spare. This, with a Note off our requiry was Delivered them[1], butt all would not serve. Yett, however, somthing was spared us in private by particuler Men, For which they were thanckfully recompenced; allsoe some of their Carpenters were aboard off us a Day or two to helpe caulke[2].

Letter from Capt. Richard Swanley and Peter Mundy to Captain William Minors, dated 27th July 1638 (*Egerton* MS. 2086, fol. 135–136).

Worshipfull and our verry loveing freinds &cta.

The shippe *Sunne* being one of the fleete lately set forth by his Majesties spetiall favour, endeavouring in May last to have gotten about the Cape de buena Esperanca in a seasonable time, could not by reason of Contrary winds and much foule weather that forced us to beare upp for the Bay of St Augustine, soe that our arrivall at home is thereby much Prolonged, and our wants much increased. Wee therefore desire you in the behalfe of his Majestie and the rest of our honorable imployers to supply us with such provisions and necessaries as are hereunder written, which wee stand in greate neede and want of, without which supply the safety of shippe and goods will runne manifest daungers. Wee therefore recomend the premises to your serious considerations, and rely on your freindly Performance

[1] See *infra* for a copy of the protest.

[2] See *English Factories*, 1637—1641, p. 83.

of these our reasonable demaunds, which wilbee verry acceptable unto his Majestie and our honorable imployers aforesaid, and by them thankfully recompenced. Soe committing you to Gods Protection, wee remaine.

Provisions.

One thouzand weight of Bisquett
six hogsheads of flesh
two hogsheads of pease
five gallons of sweete oyle
one teerce of viniger
two ferkins of Butter

Carpenters stoare

One Barell of tempered stuffe
one Barell of Tarre
two hundred of forty penny nayles
two hundered of halfe crowne nayles
six braces and swivills for our pumpe

Boateswain stoare

One Cable of 11 or 12 Inches
one Coyle of 4 Inch rope
ten pound of twine
six skiffes oares
six sayle needles

Your verry loveing freinds

RI : SWANLEY
PETER MUNDY

Shippe Sunne the 27th July 1638.

[Endorsed] To the Worshipfull and our very loving Freinds Capt. Wm. Minors Comaunder of the Shippe *discovery* and his Councell _____delivered.

Richard Swanley and Peter Mundy Letter.

Protest against Capt. William Minors and his Council (*Egerton MS.* 2086, f. 137).

Worshipfull etts our very loving frends,

Wheras on the 27th Currant Wee desired you in his Majesties behalfe and our Honorable Imployers to supply and releive our Wants with some Provisiones etts Necessaries as wee sett downe in our said Letter, The which our reasonable demaunds you have utterly denied and any part therof, Wee now once againe require you in his Majesties behalfe, our dread Soveraigne aforesaid (whose subjects wee all are and by whose especiall favour a fleete was sett forth, wherof this shipp *Sunne* is one, for the discovery of new trafficke in Merchandizing in forrayne parts, for the benefitt of our Country, Not any way prejudiciall to the Honorable East India Company Nor any other of his subje[c]ts trading wheresoever), That you supply us in this our great extremity with the said provisiones etts, Hoping you doe not esteeme us to bee those enterlopers, robbers, etts. whome (in your instructiones from your Honble. Imployers) you are forbidden to supply, assist or further in any Case. Which if you shall deny to doe, WEE Richard Swanley (Commaunder of the said ship *Sunne*) etts [and others] whose names are underwritten doe here in the behalfe of his Majesty aforesaid, our Soveraigne, and in behalfe of the rest of our Honorable Imployers PROTEST against you Captain William Minors, Commaunder of the shippe *Discovery*, and your Councell. That you are the cause of all losses, dammages, inconveniences, etts, which may ensue or accrew unto the said our shippe, Men and goodes by the want of the said provisions etts Necessaries which you may soe well spare, As allsoe of all dammage or evil that may befall to any of our Nation that shall hereafter arrive in this place, By reason that wee for want of releife and Meanes to buy from these natives shallbee forced in the end to use some violence, for all which you are to make satisfaction, as being the Causers therof. And all though this protest bee not made in such convenient

termes and Method as is required, yet Wee affirme the same to bee of as much force and effect as the most powerfullest can bee made.

Wittness our hands – – –

Dated aboard the shippe *Sunne* This 28th of July Anno 1638, in Augustin Bay on the Iland of St Lawrence.

Your very loving Freinds

RI[CHARD] SWANLEY
PETER MUNDY
WILLIAM GORLE[1]

[Endorsed] To Worshipfull Capt. William Minors Commaunder of the Shippe *Discovery* and his Councell
Protest Aboard Ship *Discovery*

The 3d off July [*sic*, ? *August* 1638]. The shippe *Discovery* sett saile to prosecute her voyage For [India] leaving us in the plightt afforementioned.

Habitts att St Lawrence.

The Figures on the other side concerning the Country habitt etts. expressed[2].

A. The Dressing of their heads after the best Manner, *viz*: The haire Most part playted or woven into

[1] William Gorle was probably the chief mate of the *Sun*. He was one of the "Overseers" of Thomas Woollman's will (See *ante*, note [1] on p. 369.)

[2] This illustration (No 48) and its explanation are interesting, as no other contemporary writer on Madagascar has described in such detail the various methods of hairdressing obtaining amongst the inhabitants. See Mandelslo, p. 255; Flacourt, pp. 78—79; Dubois, ed. Oliver, p. 51, for general remarks on the subject.

The tribe Mundy came across were the coastal Sakalâva, but Archdeacon Cory informs me that most of the tribes have each their own fashion of dressing the hair. Many of these are very fantastic, but in some cases hairdressing consists of simply a number of short plaits hanging down to the shoulders. When in mourning the Hova women leave their hair hanging naturally and it sometimes falls below the knees. Widows in full mourning frizz it out all round the head, and in half mourning they braid it into two long plaits.

When in full dress, the Hova hairdressing is most elaborate, somewhat in the way Mundy describes, but not exactly like the illustration. The head, as Mundy correctly states, is divided up into small regular areas, each containing a tight bow of very narrow plaits. For pomade, they use marrow when obtainable.

No. 48. Habitts att St Lawrence.

traces [tresses] off 3 strands, which hang round-aboutt the ends, curling inwards, unto which they apply grease or Fatte in lieu of sweete oyntt-mentts and precious oyles, aboutt which they are very curious and prolix[1], parting it by measure and Due Distance; soe thatt the ground of their haire on their heads seemes to bee Divided by Circles, and those againe into little squares very pretty to see. Much tyme is spentt aboutt itt.

Their eares are as full of small holes as can bee Made one by another, into which they putt little stickes or many brasse rings and a greater att the end or lappett, allsoe a string off smalle beads Fastned to both eares, hanguing Downe allmost as low as their breaste[2]; Many small strings allsoe off beads thick sett over their Foreheads, on which cometh Downe in order Much off their loose haire; thatt on the very Crowne Made uppe stiffe as in the Figure.

Other strings they have aboutt their Necks, armes, legges, etts., sometymes off Aranganes[3] (their Most esteemed Jewell) long square red Corneleons. This attiring off the head is either For Men or weomen off the better sorte[4].

Most commonly the Men wear aboutt their Neckes in a string sundry Implements off Iron, etts., very brighttly scoured and cleane, as small knives to cutt themselves either For Sicknesse or orna-

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[1] By "curious and prolix" Mundy means "careful, spending a long time over." There is no example of this meaning of "prolix" in the *O.E.D.*

[2] See Mandelslo, p. 255, and Flacourt, p. 81, neither of whom however, mentions more than one hole. Archdeacon Cory also informs me that he has never seen more than one hole in the ear.

[3] *Hárangárana.* See *ante*, note [3] on p. 367.

[4] Compare Flacourt, p. 79.: "Il est difficile de distinguer par le teste un homme d'avec une femme, car les hommes portent et accomodent leurs cheveux ainsi que les femmes."

mentt, Nippers to pull outt haires (sildome or Never suffring any to grow on their upper lippe[1], allthough Many have it off 4 or 5 Inches long on their Chynne); allsoe lancetts, some to pull outt thornes out off their Feet, others to picke and others to scrape their teeth; a mouth peece For a tabacco pipe, having the tabacco growing here[2], which they Draw throug[h] the water as in India, their hucka [Ar. *huqqa*, hookah] beeing the end off a horne with a short pipe or cane, to the end off which they apply their Mouth peece afforesaid.

This is the gentilest way off Dressing thatt wee could see used hereaboutt, allthough it varies Diversly, having More or lesse, as well in this as the rest that Follow.

B. One, the haire off whose head is all playted, hanguing every way round, his eares full off small stickes, with Fire Necessaries aboutt his Necke, *viz.*, one sticke like a Tobacco stopper aboutt 2 Inches long, another somwhatt longer with holes in it Nott through; into one off which they putt the end off the other sticke, and with both their hands they will soe Drill with itt that at length it fyreth any Dry stuffe they apply to it[3].

C[4]. This head is partly curled, partly playted and partly hanguing Dangluing in knobbes and cloddes off

[1] Archdeacon Cory tells me that the Hova, and most of the tribes, wear a moustache, and though it is likely that some of the tribes pluck out the hair from the upper lip, he has never heard of the custom.

[2] The tobacco plant, called *paráky* by the Malagasy, was probably introduced into the island by the Portuguese. The method of smoking described by Mundy is obsolete. Tobacco is now taken, as Archdeacon Cory informs me, in a powdered form mixed with wood ashes and placed beneath the tongue. See also Captain S. P. Oliver, *Madagascar*, II. 10.

[3] Compare Drury's description of fire-sticks, p. 70. The Malagasy verb *mamósitra* means to ignite by friction (*fósitra*). *Afósitra* is used for the rubbing stick; *voafósitra* is the stick rubbed.

[4] Mundy has mixed up the lettering of the plate here and also the description of this figure, C, and the following one, D.

grease and Filth, having things aboutt his Necke like as wee paint the sun beames[1]. Off this Manner off Necke ornament I saw butt one, butt Many off the Clodded haire such as hang aboutt sheepes tailes.

D. Another, the Forepart of the haire off whose head Naturally curled and Frizled beareth outt like a Friers crowne, the haire on the toppe and beehind plaited as afforesaid, with certaine stickes bound in a String aboutt his Necke, beeing as I conceave some plantt or wood which they superstitiously reverence[2], allso strings off Cowrees shells; this is the most ordinary Manner[3].

E. Some allsoe, both Men and weomen, weare little scullcappes woven like Mattes, others off Cotton, and one I saw with such an Anticke beard postizo[4].

F. One of the poorer sort, whose haire is carelessly curled, even Naturally[5].

G. A poore Fellow who hath only a little Narrow cloath aboutt his Middle part thereof, comming beetweene his thighes to hide his privities.

H. A poore woman with a child att her backe, some of whose breasts hang downe to their Middle or Navill.

I. A man with a large lunghee[6] aboutt his Middle. loosely tucked uppe, and Nothing elce to hide

[1] This description resembles that of a Bára warrior, given by the Rev. J. Richardson, who was at St Augustine's Bay in 1877. See *Lights and Shadows*, Appendix I. vii—viii. See also O. MacMahon, *The Sakalava and their Customs* (*Antananarivo Annual*, XVI. 191).

[2] Amulets or talismans.

[3] See *The Sakalava*, by the Rev. A. Walen (*Antananarivo Annual*, VII. 55). Archdeacon Cory informs me that the Hova men do not wear necklaces and strings of charms, though these are usual among other tribes.

[4] A grotesque artificial beard. The obsolete English word is postiche, from It. *posticcio*.

[5] Between F and G is an unlettered figure representing apparently the back view of A.

[6] See *ante*, note on p. 63.

their secretts, with strings off Cowrees etts. [and other] beads Made off shells on sundry parts, *viz*: on their arme above the elbow and aboutt the wrist, allsoe aboutt the smalle off the legge and under their knees[1], with darts in his hand.

K. A woman of the better sort, to bee Distinguished From Men only by a shortt wastcoate with very short sleeves[2].

The Arrivall of the *Planter* att Augustine Bay and supplied by her.

The 2d of August [1638]. It pleased God to send us in to our comffort the shippe *Planter*[3], who did willingly supply us to the uttermost off their power with all wee could require off them. In the said shippe I came From England when the First Fleet was Dispeeded on this Designe[4].

On the 7th Ditto [*August* 1638]. Our shippe was brought asterne as Much as Might well bee adventured, thereby to come to see and remedy the leakes in our bowes and stemme, which were those thatt Most Molested us: Our Captaine, the Master off the *Planter*[5], the Carpenters off both shippes, other officers, etts., beeing

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[1] Compare Mandelslo, p. 255: "Some wear above their Navels a row of Glass-beads of several colours, and several bracelets of them about their necks, their arms, or above the elbow, and about their legs, under the gartering place." See also Dubois, ed. Oliver, p. 51.

[2] Mandelslo, *op. cit., loc. cit.*, says that the women wear "a kind of sleeveless long Coat," and Dubois (ed. Oliver, p. 51) also says that the garment is without sleeves, but Dellon, p. 18, who was probably describing the dress of another tribe, states that the "Sleeves reach down to their Wrists."

[3] The *Planter* separated from Courteen's fleet in April 1637 (see *ante*, p. 113), returned to England, and was speedily refitted for a second voyage to India. She sailed for Bhatkal, with a cargo of lead, coral, etc., on the 20th March 1638, and was sighted by the *Discovery* off Brazil on the 16th May (see *English Factories*, 1637—1641, p. 82).

[4] See *ante*, p. 22.

[5] John Hill, Master of the *Planter* in 1636—1637, died on the outward voyage, at Bhatkal (see *Relation* XXII. p. 94). The name of the Master in 1638 does not appear.

presentt, where they Found such leakes within board as could not possibly For the tyme bee remedied withoutt board. Whereuppon all the officers of the shippe, etts., were assembled to know their Myndes whither they would goe From hence to England on this weak, deffective and leaky shippe, and a winters voyage on our owne Coast to bee expected, or to bear backe againe For India there to repaire our hurtts and supply our wantts. Butt one and all replyed in a Joint voice thatt they would rather hazard the going home uppon her (as shee was) For their Native Country then to returne backe For India; and soe it was resolved on.

The 9th Ditto [*August* 1638]. The shippe *Planter* sett saile to prosecute her voyage, First unto Johanna, and soe For India [1], etts.

The 13th [*August* 1638]. Captain Swanly went to the River [Onilahy] (where the Country people were retired) to beegin to provide some homeward bound reffreshing, the tyme Now Drawing on. Here one off our Men killed a smalle Foule or bird aboutt the biggenesse off a Robin Red breast, butt in coullour like a Magpie, white and blacke, with a couple off straightt Narrow sprigges in his taile off about 6 or 7 Inches long, very white and slender, with a little smalle blacke list alongst the Middle off itt [2], contrary to those Found on the greatt Foule att Battacala [3], For thatt was blacke with a white stripe alongst the Middle. It is somwhatt after the Figure above [4]. Itt seemes it Delights in

[1] The *Planter* arrived at Bhatkal in October 1638. In January 1639 she was at Cannanore, whence she proceeded to Achin and sailed thence for England in September 1640. See *English Factories*, 1637—1641, pp. 115, 120; *Dagh Register*, 1640, p. 3.

[2] Mundy is describing the *Tchitrea mutata* or Paradise Flycatcher of Madagascar. The long tail feathers serve to mark the males. See the description of this bird by J. Sibree, Jun., *Madagascar Ornithology* (*Antananarivo Annual*, XIII. 140—141).

[3] This reference is to the Indian Darter or Snake-bird which Mundy saw at Bhatkal. See *Relation* XXII. p. 100.

[4] See Illustration No. 49.

humaine Society, For they would come very Near us when wee sate Downe to eatt, picking, Chirping and singuing the very Noate[1], and [are] off the Nature off the Robin redbrest afforesaid.

A Cameleon.

There was allsoe killed a Cameleon off about 20 inches long From his Nose or snowt to the end off his tayle[2]. These creatures are Found in Europe, allthough Few soe long. It is reported thatt they live only by the Aire, butt I have heard some others say thatt they have seene them catch Flies by Darting somwhatt outt off their Mouthes, which is More probable, beecuse thatt this had as it weare a tongue offe aboutt 8 or 9 Inches long; 2 Inches therof Next his throatt was a spill off a sofftt bony substance as att lettre a in the Figure[3]; all the rest a Filme or gutte att the end off which a knobbe or lumpe with much slymy viscuous Matter, the which Doubtlesse hee can shoote Forth and contracte uppon the said spill, For I could easily slippe itt off and on or uppe and Downe. And these I conceave are his weopons wherewith hee getts his living, Darting outt his tongue, the slymy substance at the end beeing the birdlyme wherewith hee Fastneth on his prey, as Flies, etts., as per this Figure[4]. In this I thincke itt Differs from all other creatures, as allsoe in their eyes, For the whole balle is covered with a skynne as the rest of the body, and in the Middle a very smalle

[1] That is, they sang like robins.

[2] The *Chamæleon parsoni* of Madagascar is the largest of the whole tribe and reaches a total length of 2 feet.

[3] See Illustration No. 50.

[4] Mundy's careful observation of the chameleon enabled him to refute the popular belief concerning this animal. William Finch (1608) also disproved the statement that chameleons subsist on air. See *Early Notices of Madagascar from the Old Voyagers* (*Antananarivo, Annual* XIII. 15). For the different species of chameleons in Madagascar see the article by the Rev. R. Baron (*op. cit.* V. 99—100).

hole whence issues the sightt, which hee turneth uppe and Downe, forward and backward, seldome Moving his head[1]. Itt is of an ashy Dusky collour Naturally, and a rugged [rough, wrinkled] skynne; a very slow, sad [dismal-looking] and unsightly Creature. Whatt I have said off the Forme and length off his tongue is as I found, butt For the Manner off catching Flies is only Myne opinion, beecause I have heard some say otherwise, as that it should have a very sharpe, pointed thing like the head off a harping Iron, wherewith itt peirceth. The truth may bee better tried by experience then Discourse. Itt hath Many smalle teeth.

Off Saintt Lawrence: Temperature of the Clymate.

The Iland of Saint Laurence, called in antient tyme Madagascar[2], is reckoned amongst the greatest Ilands of the world, and by computation [1000] miles in length and [375] miles wide att the broadest[3]. Augustine bay lying right under the tropicke of Capricorne, the Climate much like to thatt att Surratt, which lyeth Near under the Tropicke off Cancer, yett contrary in the tyme, as the tropicks are opposite on either side of the Equinoctiall, For when itt is hottest in the one itt is coldest in the other. At the tyme of our beeing here, uppon the Full and Chaunge of the Moone, wee had hard wether,

[1] Mundy is correct. The lids of the eyes of a chameleon are united in one concentric fold, leaving only the small pupil visible, and the eyes can be moved separately in every direction.

[2] The terms Madagascar, Málagási are looked upon as foreign by the inhabitants, and rightly so. See Sibree, *Malagasy Place-Names*, p. 4; Cousins, *The Malagasy Language*, p. 1 *f.n.* The editor would, however, point out that the European term Málagási is not incompatible with the genius of the local language and that Mádagási would be a "correct" alternative form. By metathesis thereof, Mágadási, Mágadáshi would equal Maqdashau, the Arabic form of the Port. Magadoxo, the great old world port of the Arabs near Cape Guardafui, whence they presumably migrated to Madagascar.

[3] Madagascar is the largest island in the western portion of the Indian Ocean, and is 230,000 square miles in extent. The figures for its length and breadth are left blank in the MS.

winde and Rayne, the latter the More[1]. The Ayre wholsome, as wee Found by experience among our owne people (only one caughtt a Sicknesse here and wee buried 2 others as before mentioned, butt they were on their Death beads before wee came in), as allsoe by the Natives, who were generally healthy, strong and Lusty.

The land aboutt Augustyne Bay.

The land aboutt the Bay is partly hilles, partly plaines. The high land, For as much as wee saw (my selffe having gon over From our tentts unto the Fresh River [Onilâhy], is ragged and stony, allthough itt appeare smooth affarre offe, producing only some low shrubbes. The Plaine is a sandy, saltish soyle (sometyme it seemes overfflowne with the Sea), stored with some bigger trees, as the Tamarind, the Palmito, etts., the Fruite off the latter much eaten by the Natives, like unto a peare in Forme, and in tast like unto bread with a Mixture of Sugar or honny, accompted wholesome and Nourishing, allthough butt that Next the rinde is to bee eaten. The rest beeing the kernell or stone, beeing above $\frac{3}{4}$ off it, is as hard as Ebony and as whitte as Milke[2]. There is allsoe Much off a tall bushy shrubbe, the braunch and leaffe in Forme and smell Much like our herbe ysope [hyssop], perhapps the same[3]; Allsoe the shrubbe thatt beares the Cotton[4], with the Plantt

[1] Mundy was on the West Coast of Madagascar during the "dry" season there, May to October.

[2] Mundy is describing the *Hyphæne Schatan*, Malagasy *Sátrana* (see note [6] on p. 365), which is found along the west coast of Madagascar. Compare William Finch's description of this tree and its fruit (*Observations of William Finch*, 1608, ed. Oliver, *Antananarivo Annual*, XIII. 15).

[3] The shrub noted by Mundy was probably *Stenocline incana*, a very aromatic shrub, common in Madagascar, to which many medicinal virtues have been attributed. I am indebted to Sir David Prain for this and the preceding identification.

[4] "There [Madagascar] grow also cotton trees, from which they take the cotton to make their *lambas*." Dubois, ed. Oliver, p. 66.

Aloes[1] (butt thatt groweth Most on higher ground), and Divers other sorts Namelesse and unknowne unto us.

There is No question to bee Made butt thatt the Inland and other Seaparts [*sic*] of the Iland are off a Farre better Mould, More Fertile and serviceable, as by the plenty and variety off reffreshing brought to us appeares, of which some Follow, *viz.*

Beeves.

A. Bullockes or Beeves are here plenty large and good, with great bunches in generall on their shoulders, some of 12 or 14 Inches high above their backe (as in the Figure underneath, No. A.)[2], and is accompted the Daynetiest part off the whole beeffe, consisting of Fine Flesh and Fatte equally interlarded, little More or lesse[3]. Hereaboutt they Feed on the leaves off shrubbes and trees, Itt may bee For lacke off grasse. Of these were many heards, they beeing, as I said, their cheiffest substance and sustenance. Sometymes they kill and cutt outt skynne and all, which they eat roasted or sodde[4]. If itt bee a Cow thatt had a calffe in the belly off itt, they eat thatt For a Daynety, For I have seene roasting on a sticke a little Calffe thatt hath nott bin much bigger then some off our roasting pigges with us. And a common thing to see the Calffe sucking off the Cow on the one Side and one off the people off either or any Sex or size on the other, Drawing the Milke into their Mouthes, For, as I said, it is Much off their Sustenance and Maynetenaunce.

[1] See *Relation* XXVIII. p. 350.

[2] See Illustration No. 51A. The humped cattle were introduced from East Africa into Madagascar.

[3] See Boileau (*Voyages de Thevenot*), p. 344; Dubois, ed. Oliver, p. 64; Dellon, p. 14.

[4] See Drury, p. 61.

Sheepe.

B. Allsoe sundry Flockes off sheepe, large smooth haired, coulloured like calves, with hanguing eares, Dew lappes and long and bigge tailes[1], Nott short and round as some in Turky, as per lettre B. in the Figure Following[2].

Guinny hennes.

C. Guinny henns as bigge as our poultry, black all over, powdred thicke with smalle white spottes, very tender and Full Flesht, as lettre C. hereunder[3].

Goates.

Goates, very good, Faire and sleeke, like those att Johanna and Mohilla[4], off farre More esteeme then sheepe. Off these wee gott butt a Few broughtt From Massacoraes country[5] on the Farther side off the River.

Poultry.

Cockes and hennes like unto those in our parts, plenty; Partridges and quailes[6] allsoe.

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[1] For Mundy's previous reference to the fat-tailed sheep of Madagascar (also imported from East Africa), see vol. II. p. 13.

[2] See Illustration No. 51 B.

[3] See Illustration No. 51 C. See also *ante*, p. 365. Dubois (ed. Oliver), p. 67, calls these birds "Pintades."

[4] See *ante*, *Relation* XXI. p. 38, and *Relation* XXVIII. p. 350. See also vol. II. p. 14. Goats, like cattle and sheep, are not indigenous to Madagascar.

[5] See *ante*, note [4] on p. 366.

[6] The Madagascar partridge. See *ante*, note [4] on p. 365. The *papélika*, or quail of Madagascar, resembles the European species. See J. Sibree, Jun., *Madagascar Ornithology* (*Antananarivo Annual* XIII. 286—287)

Orenges and lemmons : Melons.

Orenges and lemmons, or beetweene both[1], were broughtt us From Massacoras side, as wee terme itt. Off these wee had nott now as Many as wee would.

A small Fruite No bigger then an orenge, beeing a kind off a Melon[2].

Pulse.

Pulse off severall sorts, which wee call garavansos[3], like those Named French beanes in England, both greatt and smalle.

Rootes : Honny.

Rootes : A bigge roote, good roasted or sodde[4].
Honny is allsoe here to bee had.

Sundry Creatures.

Divers other creatures, etts., came to our sightt, as Bugeeas, like unto Monkyes in hands and Feete, butt sharpe snowted like a Fox, sofft, Downy haired and somwhatt bushy, long tayled, which when hee sitts hee brings over all, a Dull creature[5], having seene one att

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[1] See *ante*, note [3] on p. 369.

[2] Possibly a small variety of melon introduced from India or produced locally from an introduced variety by crossing, or one of the gourds of Madagascar (*voatávo*), of which the *voatávotaménakatodiokóho* (fowl's-egg-yolk-gourd) is a small yellowish edible variety.

[3] See *ante*, note [4] on p. 368.

[4] Archdeacon Cory thinks that this root is the very common Malagasy *sónjo* or *saónjo*, an edible arum (*Colocacia*). See Dubois, ed. Oliver, p. 84.

[5] Mundy is describing one of the numerous species of *Lemuridæ*, thirty-nine of which are found in Madagascar. Other 17th-century travellers, with less discrimination, mistook these creatures for true apes. See Dubois (ed. Oliver), p. 67 ; Flacourt, p. 153. By "Bugeea" Mundy means probably (Prov.) *bakiáka* for *bábakóto*, the Malagasy term for one of the largest of the lemurs.

Suratt [Factory] house (broughtt From hence); a little creature nott much bigger then a Mouse, off a fierce Nature, resembling a Kitteing[1].

Cammeleons, lizards, batts, Kites, Crowes, halffe white herons[2], and sundry other unknowne Fowle, etts. came to sightt.

Commodities.

As For Commodities, as yett I know not whatt itt may affoard, excepting Dragons bloud, a gumme off a tree sometyme broughtt unto us in lumpes[3]; Cotton woolle, and a shell called by them Tampimpees[4], worth att Suratt 2 or 3 s[hillings] a pound, as some say.

By report Farther uppe in the Country is Rice sowne and racke[5] made, and Divers other things Not to bee had nor seene here below, where they live after a More Civill Manner then these Doe. They have knowlidge here of Bowes and arrowes, butt use None, Darts or lances beeing their all and only Weapon.

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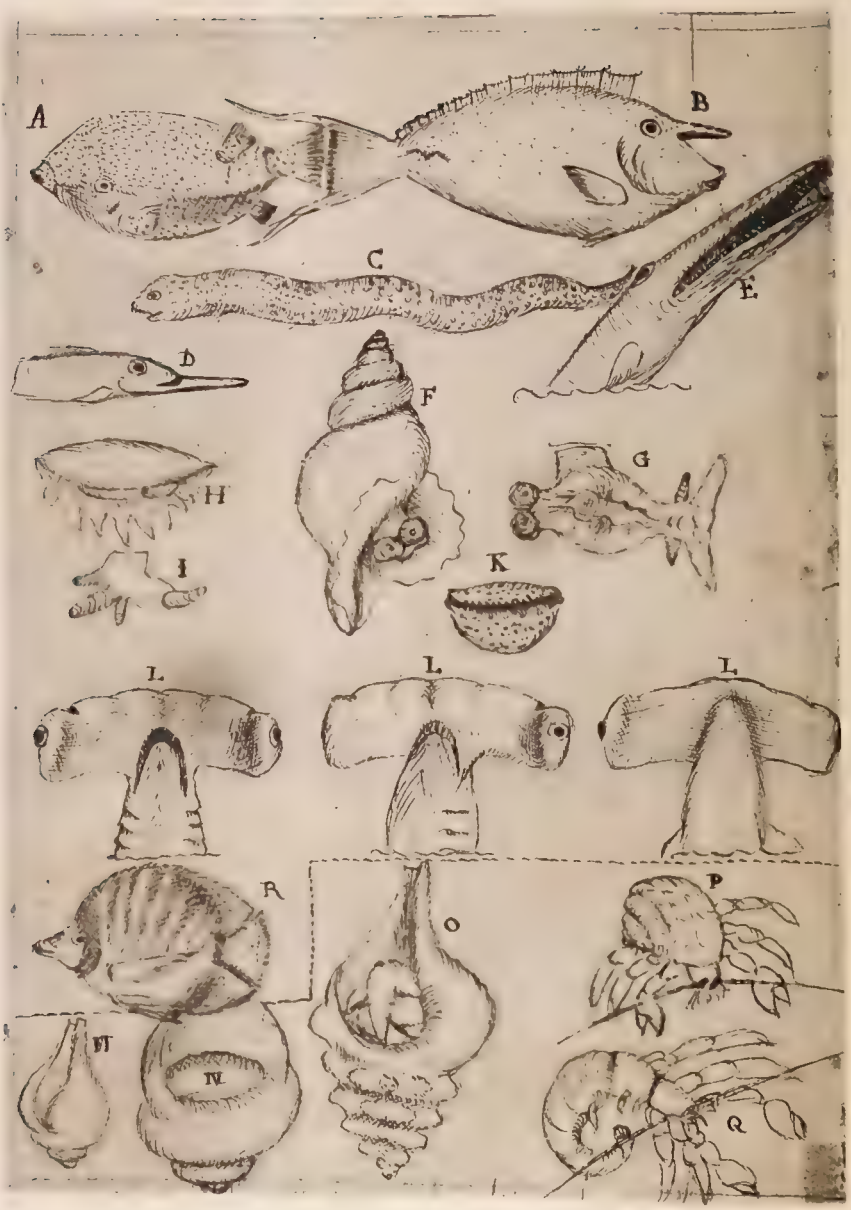
[1] Mundy is alluding to one of the peculiar species of carnivora of very small size found in Madagascar. The animal described is possibly *fósa*, (Prov.) *píntsála*, or *vontsíra* (also *soláno*), both belonging to the *Viverridæ* (civets).

[2] Probably the whitewinged heron. See J. Sibree, Jun., *Madagascar Ornithology* (*Antananarivo Annual*, XIII. 292).

[3] Properly speaking, dragon's blood in the East is the gum of a *Dracæna*. It was formerly valued as an astringent medicine. In his vocabulary (see end of this *Relation*) Mundy gives the Malagasy equivalent as "Shung" (*sóngo*), one of the *Euphorbiæ* or prickly-pears, the white juice of which is also used as an astringent.

[4] I have been unable to trace this term by which Mundy, in his illustration of Madagascar fishes, describes a univalve shellfish closed by its *operculum*, which last feature greatly attracted his attention in this and other cases, as also did the fact that such shells frequently contain crabs. The term "Tampimpee" may therefore possibly mean a shellfish closed (*támpina, támpika*) by its operculum, or closed by a crab (? *támpimpipéo*).

[5] Mundy is using the Indian term rack, arrack (*'arak*) for the Malagasy spirit *tóaka*, distilled in his day from the palm called *Sátrana* by the natives. See Drury, ed. Grandidier, p. 273. Archdeacon Cory informs me that the Malagasy now make their *tóaka* almost entirely from the sugar cane.



No. 52. Fishes [at Madagascar].

The Sea and River aboutt [*sic* ? abound] with excellentt Fish, Cheiffly a little within the mouth of the said River, where with a Nett wee caughtt plenty off Mulletts, breames and some Rocke Fish, one off the latter beeing sufficient to give our whole shippes Company (aboutt 70 persons) a good Meale, with Divers others a mile or two Farther uppe; Crocodiles which wee call Aligators, I thincke from Lagarto, the Spanish word For a lizard[1]; water Fowle Few. By prowes From the Sea were broughtts [*sic*] store allsoe off good Fish, wherof some For their straungenesse off Forme and Coullours, especially shellfishes, I have endeavoured to expresse by Figure as on the other side, ***viz.***

[Mundy's explanation of Illustration No. 52[2].]

A. A smalle Fish compleatly armed with one entire shell, excepting where hee putts Forth his Nose [and] his taile, and 4 Fynnes one off each side, one above and one beneath, with his ventt all speckled over[3].

B. A Fish with a horne, skynned like a Dogge Fish, aboutt 18 Inches long[4].

C. An Ele or Cunger [conger-eel], all spotted over[5].

D. A smalle Fish as bigge as a Mackrell, whose under parts shootes Forward 3 or 4 Inches[6].

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[1] Mundy's derivation is correct.

[2] I am indebted to the kindness of Dr Boulenger, Dr Calman, Mr Tate Regan and Mr G. C. Robson of the British Museum (Natural History) for the elucidation (as far as possible) of Mundy's drawings of Madagascar fishes.

[3] A species of coffer-fish, *Ostracion*.

[4] *Naseus unicornis*, Fouk.

[5] A species of *Muræna*, an eel common to the Mediterranean as well as to tropical and sub-tropical seas.

[6] A species of Half-beak, *Hemirhamphus*, a fish resembling the Gar-pikes.

E. The head off a Conger, with very many long sharpe teeth att the end off his Mouth, the rest round aboutt very smalle, and in the Middle off the rooffe off his Mouth all along a rancke off very bigge sharpe teeth; the like nott to bee seene I thincke in any other Creature[1].

F. Greatt shells with the Fish in itt alive. Att this Marcke * are as itt were 2 smalle Flatte oyster shells [*opercula*] with which hee shutts himselffe in[2].

G. The shellfish when hee commeth Forth.

H. Another shellfish[3].

I. The Fish in itt as itt comes Forth hath a little shell like a Mussell shell.

K. A Cowree shell Most commonly nicknamed, off which here are very Faire and of excellent coullours with the living creature in in (*sic* ? it)[4].

L The head off a shovell Nosed sharcke. These are said to bee Found Near home, yett however, For the strange Dissenting [differing in] Forme off his head From all other creatures, I have sett him downe, Fore, backe and side waies; his Nose-thrills att this marcke *; all the rest like a sharcke, *viz.*, his sundry rowes off teeth, rough skynne and frame off body[5].

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[1] A species of *Muræsox*. See above, note [5] on p. 395.

[2] This and the following illustration, G, are impossible to identify. Mundy is perhaps depicting a species of *Charonia*.

[3] Illustrations H and I possibly represent a badly drawn *Pterocera*. Mr G. C. Robson states that there is a specimen of *Pterocera aurantia*, Lamarck, from the Andaman Islands in the British Museum, in a condition not unlike Mundy's drawing.

[4] A badly drawn *Cypræa*. Mundy probably intended to depict a *Cypræa moneta*, the cowry employed as currency.

[5] Mundy has apparently confused the shovel-nosed whale with the hammer-headed shark. It is the latter, *Sphyrna zygæna*, that he depicts.

M. N. O. P. Here are various other sorts off shell Fishes, only these 3 or 4 amongst the rest. It is to bee understood thatt off these sorts, as off sundry others, there are off each 2 sorts, soe thatt in one shall bee a Crabbe and in the other a plaine wilke in the Manner off Perriwinckle, shutt in with stopper as M and N; and those thatt have Crabbes when they shutt themselves in are as lettre O; when they come outt and walke or creepe as lettre P[1].

Q The said Crabbe Fish when hee is quite Forth of the shalle (*sic*), which hee must bee forced unto by Fire, Famyne or blowes. I conceave them all to be First wilkes thatt Dying, off the putrifaction therof is engendred the 2d sort off lettre P. I say O are wilkes as aforesaid, who have little shells to shutt in, as H, L and M; and these are the Tampunpees afforementioned[2], accompted Medicinable, and worth in India aboutt 80 Msa. Mu.[3] att Suratt.

R. A Flatt Fish off 6 Inches long and 1 thicke. All that is hatcht or shadowed as [is] off a blackish coullour, the hinder Fynnes yellow. There be of sundry other Coullours allsoe[4].

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[1] M is possibly a species of *Ficus* or may be a young *Turbinella*, the well-known chank-shell.

N is impossible to determine.

O, P, Q are hermit-crabs of the family *Paguridæ*. Many species are common on tropical coasts and it is hardly possible to hazard a guess as to the genus or species represented by Mundy. His explanation of the phenomenon is obviously incorrect.

[2] See *ante*, note [4] on p. 394.

[3] By these abbreviations, which I have not been able to trace in any contemporary commercial document or correspondence, Mundy seems to mean *mahmūdī* and *man*. Taking the *mahmūdī* roughly at one shilling and the current Suratī maund (*man*) at 40 *lbs.*, we get a valuation of 2*s.* a pound, which agrees with Mundy's previous statement (see *ante*, p. 394) as to the value of these shellfish at Surat.

[4] A species of *Chætodon*. The colours of this group of fishes are brilliant in tint, black and yellow being among the prevailing hues.

Some words of the language used by the People of St Laurence aboutt A[u]gustine bay, as well as wee could gather, partly From bad interpreters and partly without them, allsoe of their Numbring: and First of the last, *viz.*[1]

	[*Mundy's Forms.*]	[*Modern Malagasy Forms.*]
1	Eesoo	Ísa[2]
2	Rooa	Róa
3	Tela	Télo
4	Epha	Éfatra[3]
5	Lyma	Límy[4] (Prov.)
6	Ening	Énina
7	Pheta	Fíto
8	Valoo	Válo
9	Sepha	Sívy
10	Fooloo	Fólo
11	Fooloo Eeraicke	Fólo iraíka (ten-one)
12	Fooloo Aroo, etts	Fólo róa
20	Aroo Fooloo	Róa-pólo
30	Tela Fooloo	Télo-pólo
100	Zatoo	Záto
1000	Foolan Zatoo or Memphe toange	Fólanjáto (ten-hundred) or ampáha-fítony (one-seventh)[6]

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[1] Mundy's extraordinarily accurate ear has been frequently noted already and has stood him in great stead in making this vocabulary. He wrote nearly 300 years ago and picked up the language on the coast in a provincial dialect, and yet all the words he records are admissible Malagasy forms and most of them at once recognisable. His vocabulary is printed at length for its historical value on philological grounds and for its commercial value in tracing the course of early European trade with the Island. I am greatly indebted to Archdeacon Cory for many hints and assistance throughout.

[2] Also *iray, iraíka.* See below at No. 11.

[3] The syllables *ka, tra* and *na* at the ends of words are almost silent and would not be heard by a novice in Malagasy.

[4] The writers of Malagasy use *y* at the ends of words to represent *i*.

[5] This is not correct Malagasy, but was no doubt used by the natives when talking to foreigners. See below, No. 12.

[6] Here again "ten-hundred" is incorrect and the alternate form given is probably due to a misunderstading.

The[y] tell no Farther then ten and soe beegin againe, 10 and 1, 10 and 2[1], etts., and For 20, 30, two tens, 3 tens, etts

Particuler names off some Men and weomen here.

Andro[2] Setunga	now cheiffe
Maran Arango	Setungas Brothers
Andro Enkeealee	Setungas Brothers
Andro Mirzato	Setungas Brothers
Maffea	Setungas Sonne
Andro Pela	quondam cheiffe
Andro Ambea	his brother
Eura Cheehana	Weomen
Eura Suyna[3]	Weomen

Andro signifying Sir or Master, and Eura, senora[4] or Mistris such a one.

	[*Mundy's Forms.*]	[*Modern Malagasy Forms.*]
A man	undatee	Ántidáhi (Prov.), old man
A woman	Ampela	Ampéla
A Boy	Jouna[5]	Zánaka, young

[1] This is not correct.

[2] Andría, Andríana, a title: noble, chief, connection of chief's family. "Andro Setunga"=the Chief, Shekh of Tanga. See *ante*, p. 366.

[3] Practically all Malagasy personal names are taken from words in ordinary use. Archdeacon Cory conjectures that the above proper names should read as follows:—

Maran Arango. Rá Mandrángo (Maran by metathesis for Rá Man), Mr Courtier.

Andro Enkeealee. Andríana Kíly or Andríankíly, Mr Tamarind.

Andro Mirzato. Andríana Vízatra or Andríambízatra, Mr Grim.

Maffea. Rá Mafírana or Rá Maféja, Mr Handsome. Mundy has left out the honorific prefix (Rá, Raíny, Rény, Andríana) always present, and only omitted out of familiarity or informality.

Andro Pela, Andríana Péla or Andríampéla (see *ante*, p. 366), My Lord Shell-ornament (*féla*, a special ornament made from a shell).

Andro Ambea. Andríambé, Mr Big.

Eura Cheehana. Irá Síhanaka, or Rásíhanaka, Mrs Síhanaka (tribal name).

Eura Suyna. Irá Tsoína, or Rátsoína, Mrs Tsoína (*tsoína*, a medicinal plant, *Emilia amplenicaulis*).

[4] For Senhora, Portuguese for lady.

[5] The letter *j* is used to transcribe *dz* in Malagasy books.

	[*Mundy's Forms.*]	[*Modern Malagasy Forms.*]
A girle	Jozaampela	Záza ampéla, child-woman, a little girl
Father	Ray	Ray
Mother	Rene	Rény
Brother	Brahalahee	Ráhaláhy, a man's brother
Sister	Anababay	Ánabávy, a man's sister
A Child	Azaza	Záza
A Sonne	Anac	Ánaka, young, a child (Prov.)
A Daughter	Anac Dahee	Ánadáhy, a woman's brother[1]

Parts of the Body.

A head	Looha	Lóha
haire	voolo	Vólo
Eies	Mattee	Máso[2]
Eares	Soffa	Sófina
Nose	Oroo	Órona
Nosthrills	Lovooc, Oroo	? Lávaka, a hole + órona, nose[3]
Lippe	Sung	Sónga[4], hare-lip
Mouth	Vava	Váva
teeth	Neepha	Nífy
tongue	lela	Léla
a hand	Tanga	Tánana[5]
a Fist	Fetucki	Fétrika (Prov.)

[1] Here, as in other instances, Mundy and his informant were at cross purposes.

[2] The Malay form is *mata* and Mundy's information is interesting as showing a form in his time nearer the Malay than the modern Malagasy.

[3] This is interesting because the usual word is *vávórona=váva*, mouth+*órona*, nose.

[4] Robert Drury in his vocabulary (*c.* 1718) has "soneghe" for lips, for which the Rev. J. Richardson, *Drury's Vocabulary of the Madagascar Language, with Notes* (*Antananarivo Annual*, I. 103), gives *sóny* as the modern equivalent; but his *Malagasy-English Dict.* says *sóny* is the beak of a bird or the lip of a vessel. At the same time, the short vocabulary of Richard Boothby (1646), collected by C. S. Wake (*Ant. Ann.*, III. 101), gives "songe" for lips.

[5] Malay, *tangan*. Here again Mundy is nearer the Malay than the modern speech. Drury, in his vocabulary (*c.* 1718), has "tongher."

[*Mundy's Forms.*]		[*Modern Malagasy Forms.*]
Neck or throte	vozo	Vózona, vózo (Prov.)
breasts	Nunnee	Nóno
a Foote	tombue	Tómboka (Prov.)
a Finger	tonro	Tóndro, the index-finger

Bartring Ware, etts.

long Corne	[blank]	Kátsaka, maize
lien [strung] beads	Arangan	Hárangárana, strung cornelian beads
round ditto	Sammesam	sámisámy
Brasse	Saba	Sába (also copper)
lyn cloath	lamba	lámba, cloth, the outer garment
a ring	tangaretta	pératra, a finger-ring[1]
Gold	Voloo Mena	Vólaména, red money[2]
Silver	Voloo fote	Vóla fótsy, white money
Mettall	Voloo	Vóla, money[3]
Iron	Vee	Vy
Christall	Omenrihe	? Amandríha (Prov.)[4]
glasse	Cachorro	? Katsaóro (Prov.)[5]

Provisions, etts., beasts, Foule, Fishes.

A Bull	Anungbealahee	Ómbiláhy, cattle (male)
A Cow	Anungbee	Ombi-(vávy), cattle (female)[6]
A Calffe	Anac anungbee	Anakómby[7], child-cattle (Prov.)
Sheepe	Ang undree	Ankóndry (Prov.)

[1] But Mundy has made up his word of "tanga," hand (see above) and *pératra*, finger-ring.

[2] This is interesting as showing that the Malagasy erroneously value "red" gold beyond "pale," or as they say, "green" gold (*vólaména maítso*). There appears to be three qualities with them: *vóla ména ména*, very red gold; *vólaména*, red gold; and *vólaména maítso*, green, *i.e.*, light or inferior gold.

[3] There is no indigenous generic term for "metal," though the borrowed form *métaly* is used nowadays.

[4] The ordinary term is *vátosánga*, stone-crest.

[5] The ordinary term is *fitáratra*.

[6] *Omby* by itself is used for cattle, ox and cow.

[7] Drury, in his vocabulary (*c.* 1718) has "annack an omebay"

	[*Mundy's Forms.*]	[*Modern Malagasy Forms.*]
goates	Ossee	Ósy
hogges	Lambo	Lámbo, wild hog
A Cocke	Aco lahee	Akóho-láhy, male domestic fowl
henns	Acoho	Akóho-(vávy), (female) domestic fowl
egges	Attolo	atódy
Rice	vare	Váry
garavansos	Vocunda	? Vóa-kándrina [1]
Milke	Ronono	Ronóno
Water	Rano	Ráno
Salt	Sheera	Síra
Honny	tentellee	Tantély, tintély (Prov.)
Fish	Feea	Fía (a particular fish in Sakaláva)
Wyne	toac	Tóaka
Orenges [2]	Whangee bea	(See next)
Lemmons	Whunguee say	Vóasáry, citrus fruit
gunny hens	Canga	Akánga, kánga (Prov.)
Foules or birds	Voroong	Vórona, any bird
a sea tortoise	Fanoo	Fáno (Coast only)
a land tortoise	Angallee	? ankházy (Prov.) [3]
the shell	[blank]	Akórany

[1] "Garavansos," chick-pea, pulse, vetch (Hind. *dāl*). See *ante*, note [4] on p. 368. Drury has "vungember" for "carravances," which seems to correspond to a form *vóangámba*, but Richardson (*Drury's Vocab. of the Malagasy Lang. with Notes, Ant. Ann. I*, 101) gives the form as Sakaláva, *vánga* (spotted bean).

[2] Flacourt writes (1658), pp. 124—125 :—"Les oranges sont meures en May, Juin, Juillet, et Aoust, il s'en trouve aussi en autre saison mais plus rarement, il y en a comme en France . . . et de petites qui sont douces et tres-excellentes a manger, que l'on nomme Voangissaye, qui sont comme une grosse prune, et de la plus belle couleur orengée que l'on scauroit voir . . . Toutes se nomment Voangha."

The modern Malagasy term for orange is *laoranjy*, an obvious corruption of Hind. *narangī*, whence "orange," properly "norange." Mundy's "whangee," "whunguee," and Flacourt's "voangha" seem to arise from a corruption of *vóa* (fruit + *narangī* (orange). By "whangee bea," Mundy seems to mean the great (*bé*) *narangī* (*citrus*). He calls lemons "whunguee say," but it will be observed that Flacourt calls a small sweet orange "voangissaye" (see *Relation* XXI, note [2] on p. 42, for this fruit), so there seems to have been a good deal of confusion in the minds of the old travellers on the subject.

[3] The ordinary word for fish for food is *házandráno*, *i.e.*, *háza* + *ráno* (water), water-game. See next but one.

[*Mundy's Forms.*]		[*Modern Malagasy Forms.*]
Find fish	Tacallee	? Makaházy, to catch fish (Prov.)
A dogge	Amboa	Ambóa
A catte	Peeshoo	Píso[1]
An Alligator	Vealy	Vóay
A Kite	Pampango	Papángo, yellow-billed kite

Coullours.

Redd	Men	Ména
White	Fote	Fótsy
blacke	Manita	Maínty
blew	Areedee	? Asídy (Prov.), sky (alítra)
greene	Feechatt	? Fitsátsa (Prov.), light brown; (tsátsa), green

Some verbes.

To sleepe	Lentee	Réndrika, fast asleep (adj.)
To rise uppe	Venchanga	Mitsánganá[2]
To sitt downe	Tomocz	? Tampátra (Prov.), to sit (pétraka)
To breake	Folac	Fólaka, broken
To bite	Teeffac	Téfaka, broken (of wood)[3]
To runne	Lomay	Lómbaina, to run to help (Prov.)
To Cutte	Halillee	Líly (Prov.), a cut: alíly (Prov.), to be cut
To eate	Homo	Hónana
To Drincke	Meno	Mámo, drunk
To ly downe	Mandree	Mándry
To Laggh (*sic*)	Homahee	Homéhy
To Weepe	Tomanghee	Tomány
To whistle	Feeocke	Fióka, whistling

[1] This is the English puss, as *sáka* is the French *chat*. The terms have been naturalised into *sáka* and *káry*, a cat run wild.

[2] *Mi*, prefix of an intransitive verb.

[3] Mundy seems to have misunderstood his informant and to have obtained two words signifying "break."

[*Mundy's Forms.*]		[*Modern Malagasy Forms.*]
To sing	Anguillee[1]	Mihíra
To Daunce	Tinracke	Tsínjaka, a stamping dance
To beate	Foffucke	Fófoka, a blow : mamófoka, to beat
To wound	Selolucke[2]	? Tsilólaka (Prov.), to pierce, wound
To Steale	Mangalee	Mangálatra
To bee sicke	Mararee	Maráry, sick (adj.)
To buy	Veelee	Mivídy
To bring	Meatonza	Mitóndra, to carry (take or bring)
To tell a ly	Vanday	Mibándy (Prov.)
	Wordes off Sundry Sorts.	
The Sunne	Hangangroo	Hainándro, sunshine
The Moone	Voolan	Vólana
A Day	Anroo	Ándro
The Sea	Ranstacke	? Ránotsáka (Prov.), to cross the water (ráno)
Rayne	Reeake	Ríaka, streams of water after rain
Wynde	Anghee	Ánina (Prov.)
Cloudes	Angheechee	Ngízina, dark[3]
Thunder	Oran	Órana, rain[4]
Fire	Affoo	Áfo
Heat	Mahachembuck	Máhatsámboka, to perspire
Cold	Mahaneench[5]	Máhanintsy (Prov.), to be cold
Land or earth	Tamee	Tány
Wood	Heetay	Hatáy, firewood
Sunrising	Trac Anroo	? Trák' ándro (Prov.) lift of the day
Sun setting	Arriba	Haríva, evening

[1] Probably some provincial form of *hira*, singing, with provincial prefix *ank*.

[2] Perhaps connected with *tsílo*, thorn.

[3] Probably a misunderstanding with the informant here.

[4] Thunder and the attendant rain are mixed up : *órana*, rain ; *kótrokórana*, thunder ; *ránonórana*, tropical rain.

[5] Drury (*c* 1718) has " merninchy "=*mininitsy*.

They divide the Day into 4 parts: From Morning to 9 clock; From thence to Noone; From thence to 3; and From 3 to nightte.

[*Mundy's Forms.*]		[*Modern Malagasy Forms.*]
From morning to 9	Ufonvoho	? Afonvóha (Prov.), opening
From 9 to 12	Unto anroo	Antoándro, broad daylight
From 12 to 3	Foolac Anroo	Fólaka ándro, afternoon
From 3 to 6	Mandec Anroo	Mandéntik'[1]-ándro, sinking day
To morrow	Amarray	Amaraý (Prov.)
To Nightt	Anighta	Hamaínty, blackness

I think thise [*sic*] are in imitation off the English[2].

[*Mundy's Forms.*]		[*Modern Malagasy Forms.*]
Good	Chura	Tsára
Badd	Cheechura (Chee signifying Not)	Tsy tsára, not good
Alive	Vello	Vélona
Dead	Mattee	Máty
There is	Mishee	Mísy[3]
There is not	Cheemishee	Tsy mísy
Com hither	Aveea	Ávia (Imp., come !)
bee gon	Mandeha	Mandehána (Imp., go !)
More	Meelo	Míla, to want a thing
Where	Aya	Aiá (Prov.)
Fatte	Boonracke	Bótraka, plump
Leane	Mahee	Mahía
Sweete	Mamee	Mámy
Strong	Angooree	? Angóvy, take by force
take	Fango	Fangótra (Prov.), entrapped (of fish)
take not	Cheefango	Tsy fangótra
How many	Feelee	Fíry
By and by	Andesso	Andráso (Imp., wait !)

[1] From root *lénlika*, sunken.

[2] Mundy is referring to "Anighta."

[3] In Malagasy *s* is usually pronounced *sh*, which Mundy sometimes writes *ch*.

[*Mundy's Forms.*]		[*Modern Malagasy Forms.*]
Sofft and faire	Mallakeea	Malákia, be quick [1]
Liberall	Mahtara	Mahatsára, good
Niggard	Mahateetee	Mahíhitra
Great	Leiheebea	Léhibé
little	Hele	Kély (Prov., Kíly)
Many or Much	Maro	Máro
Soe	Meheco	Máhakó (Prov.)
This	Eetoo	Íty
Alle	Tintolo	Tontólo
There	Atee	Atý, here; áry, there
Freind or Consort	Avanay or Lunga sua	Hávana, lóngo sóa, good friend
bad Men	Lunga rata	Ólon-drátsy
give Mee	Jahoo Manga Mea	Záho manoméza [2]
How call you this	Letoo enteenee	Íto tenénin' ino ? (Prov.) How is this spoken of ?
a house or tent	Tanghoo	Tráno
A shippe	Caranca	Karánka, a carrack (Lat. *carrica*, Sp. *carraca*)
A boate or prow	Lacca	Láka (Prov.)
A Cappe or hatte	Satucke	Sátroka
A lance	Leiffoo	Léfona
A Matte	Teehee	Tsíhy
A rope	Tallee	Tály (Prov.)
Flesh	Onuffo	Nófo
Bones	Taola	Taólana
A Kniffe	Veebea	? Vibé, great iron
Meatt	Hanna	Héna
Bloud	Ra	Rá
A Chist or box	Faffan	? Fáfana (Prov.)
A Calabasa [3]	Waotova	Vóatávo
Dragons bloud	Shung	Sóngo [4]
Cotton	Khassee	Hásy (Prov.)

[1] Mundy probably misunderstood his informant.

[2] This is what Mundy appears to have picked up, but it is "pidgin" Malagasy for "I give."

[3] Calabash, pumpkin.

[4] See *ante*, note [3] on p. 394.

[*Mundy's Forms.*]		[*Modern Malagasy Forms.*]
An instrument of Musicke	Ambolo[1]	Ambólo, a bamboo guitar
A spoone	Soto	Sótro
Soe much	Aretoy	iry'toy, equal to that
Nothing	Avova	? Avóva (Prov.) for áz'ázo, not got
Cowrees	Hayhova	Haíhova (Prov.) for haingo, personal ornament
Above	Ambavee [*sic* ? Ambanee)[2]	Ambány, below
beelow	Amboonee	Ambóny, above

End of the 29th Relation.

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[1] See *ante*. p. 373.

[2] Mundy has here reversed his information. *Ambóny* is above and *ambány* is below.

RELATION XXX

OUR DEPARTURE FROM THE ILAND OF MADAGASCAR OR ST LAURENCE, OUR TOUTCHING ATT THE ILAND OF ST HELENA AND ARRIVAL UNTO THE ILAND OF GREAT BRITTAINE, *viz.*[1] :

Wee sett saile From St Laurence.

The 28th August, 1638. Wee sett saile From the Bay of St Augustine, and Directed our course homeward (where God send us well to arrive), having First left there written on a greatt rocke on the side off the hill by the tent, our Commaunder and shippes Names, the tyme off our Departure From Achein, as of our arrivall here and Departure hence[2], There beeing theron writings off Former Fleetes and shippes to thatt purpose.

Abstractte of part off the Month off August Anno 1638[3].

Gon the 4 last Daies of this Month, Miles [blank]

Sightt of Cape Bona Esperanza : A proposition to putt in there or to goe Directly For St Hellena.

The 24th September 1638. This evening wee had sightt of Cape Bonesperanza.

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[1] The full headline in the MS. to this Relation is " China voiage Homeward bound From St Laurence to St Hellena and home to England."

[2] Mundy means " there " and " thence."

[3] The " Abstractte " has no entries beyond the dates 28th, 29th, 30th, 31st August.

The 25tt ditto. In the Morning wee had yett sightt off Cape off good hope afforesaid, aboutt 18 leagues off, when, while wee were thwart off itt, affter Morning prayer, Our Captaine propounded unto the whole Company whither they were More willing to putt in For the Cape or to proceed Directly For St Hellena[1], Withall Demonstrating unto them thatt if wee putt in here, wee could expect Nothing butt Sorrell, Mussells and water, the latter with much labour and Difficulty to bee Filled, Soe thatt our Men (with beeing wett, cold and weary) might gett some Sicknesse or other, as Formerly had bin experimented in such a case; Thatt wee had now butt one boate or skiffe left to helpe our Selves with on all occasiones, etts: Moreover, Thatt itt would cost sometyme to gett in, and then perhappes such windes Mightt come thatt would keepe us in longer then wee should bee willing, and soe prolong our arrivall (soe much expected and Desired) att home.

Reasons for Stt Hellena were, *viz.*, All our Men in good health (God bee praised), a Faire wynde and Fresh water enough. Thatt there wee should Meete with sundry Kindes off good reffreshing and good water; thatt thereby wee should much advaunce our tyme soe pretious with us. And in case wee should Misse the said Iland, yet had wee water and provisiones enough to bring us to England. However, if necessity required, wee mightt putt in For the Ilands off Cape de verde or [back to] the Cape [of Good Hope] ittselffe there to reffresh and water. In Fine, itt was Concluded to proceed Forthwith For St Helena afforesaid[2].

Good Porpoises.

The Porpoises here aboutt Cape Bonesperanza have little off that strong Savour and rancke smell which they

[1] Here is a marginal note, "Reasons against the Former."

[2] Here is a marginal note, "Reasons For the latter: Embraced."

usually have elcewhere, butt are very good Meatt sometymes.

The generall Windes.

From St Helena [*sic* ? St Laurence] hitherto Not any thing worth Notice, only indifferentt [tolerable] winde and weather, butt From hence unto the end off this Month wee had a continuall Fresh and constantt gale att Southeast, itt being the generall winde or Monsoone thatt hath bin observed to blowe all the yeare long only one way in this Climate, soe thatt if wee should chaunce to overshoote Stt Helena (as sometymes it hath hapned allthough sildome), there is hard or no Fetching off itt att all againe, allthough wee mightt bee in sightt off itt, and beeing once Driven to leeward, hard recovering by plying against winde and tide; a currantt Found allso to sett to the Westward.

Abstracte of the Month of September Anno 1638.

7. Gusts and Raine, thunder and lightning.
8. Fowle wether, lay a try[1] 11 howres.
11. From the 3d to this Day a greatt Westerne Sea.
19. Trombos[2] and Seales seene. I say seene this Day [20th].
21. Our greatest Southern lattitude this voyage.
24. Cape Falso[3] and Cape Bonesperanza seene this Day.

Sayled in this whole Month of September the some of Miles 2341

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[1] See *ante*, note [2] on p. 32.

[2] For Mundy's previous references to *Tromba marina*, see vol. II. pp. 7, 323.

[3] False Cape, now known as Cape Hangklip, is the outermost point on the Eastern side of False Bay. Dunn (*East India Directory*, p. 352), who calls it "Hottentots Point or Cape Falso," says that "it lies about 6 leagues due east from the Cape of Good Hope, and may be seen 8 or 9 leagues in clear weather."

Sightt of the Iland of St Helena.

The 8tt October 1638. Wee had sightt of the Iland off Stt Helena, soe thatt in 14 Daies wee sayled From sightt off the Cape Bonesperanza unto Sightt off this Iland—a speedy passage.

A Paradox.

Itt may bee somewhatt wondred att, thatt allthough wee were beetweene the 2 tropickes, called Zona torrida or the burning Zone, the Sun within 8 or 9 degrees of our Zenith in the Month off October, answearable unto Aprill with us, yett aboutt the end of the last Month and beeginning off this, The winde and weather was soe sharpe and cold thatt all off us in generall clapt as many cloathes on our backes thatt I thinck they would not have Desired Much More att Christmas tyme in England[1]. And I have heard some say who had bin att Greeneland thatt att such tyme as they remayned there, they Found the weather more temperate and warme, which may seem straunge, thatt lying allmost under the Northpole and wee Now allmost under the lyne. The reason off Coolenesse here (contrary to common opinion) May bee the strong and perpetuall Southerly windes, which is here the coldest, and allsoe att this tyme the Sunnes aproaching towards, when usually it prooves colder then when hee beegins to depart From us, as wee Find it by experience in England. And contrariwise, the reason off warme weather in Greeneland May bee Milde or little winde and the Sunnes continuall presence with them, allwaies above the Horizone, Never setting all the tyme off their beeing there, which May bee aboutt 10 or 12 weekes[2].

[1] Here is a marginal note in the MS: "Thatt itt is sometymes soe cold Nere the Equinoctill as it is Neare the Pole."

[2] Mundy is talking of September and October in the Southern Hemisphere, where he had been experiencing south-easterly winds

Anchored under the North West side off the Iland off Saint Helena.

The 9th [*October* 1638]. Wee came and anchored Near the shoare beetweene lemmon and Chappell vally[1], Having had, by Gods blessing, a quick and prosperous passage From the Iland off St Laurence hither, and arrived here in as happy a tyme[2], For by report off Divers off our company thatt had bin sundry tymes att this Iland, They Never saw More store Nor better water then Now ran in every vally, Never saw itt More greene and Flourishing in grasse and trees then Now att present (I meane aloft); Never soe Many lemmons, having Now Found among the woodes Many other trees Not Formerly knowne by them, Most bending with their burthens, on whome beesides the Multitude off well coulloured ripe ones were as Many greene and smalle, and Many More blossomes; The Cattle allsoe Never in better case: all this alofft as afforesaid[3]. For From the place where wee rode, which was on the Northwest side[4], there is hardly such another Ragged, steepy, stony, high, Cragged, rocky, barren, Desolate and Comffortlesse coaste to bee seene, all the way uppe suteable in Most places. But

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and (though he probably did not know it) the cold South Atlantic current, prevalent at that time of year in the mid Atlantic. The combination would produce the cold weather that surprised him. In the same way, with a north wind, quite wintry weather is experienced in England in March and April.

[1] Chapel Valley, so called from the small chapel built by the Portuguese, was renamed James Valley at the end of the 17th century, in honour of James II. Lemon Valley lies to the west of James Valley, and both are on the north of the island. See vol. II, pp. 328—333, for Mundy's previous visit to St Helena in 1634.

[2] Here is a marginal note in the MS., "att presentt in a plentifull and pleasant plightt."

[3] Here is a second note, "promising no such Matter by its outside beneath: butt aloft off a good Mould, stored with grasse, woods, thicketts, wheron was to bee Found Hogges, Goates, lemmons, Partridges, Pidgeons, guynny henns, ett[s]., Mints, Malloes, porcelane [purslane], Cammomill, etts."

[4] Almost due north.

above, the ground is of excellentt Mold, allthough For the Most part in very high, round, rising, small hills, steepy ascentts and Discentts, payneffull and Difficultt to bee travelled; beetweene each these swellings a Running water; commonly Few playnes; the higher the land the better ground; here and there groves and woodes off small trees, in other places thicketts off Shrubbes, weedes and Fearnes, harbours For hogges as the rockes For the goates[1]; All the rest yeilding good grasse; allsoe some Mints, Malloes, purcelane, a kind off Camomill smelling very sweet are here to bee Found[2].

The goates For the most part blacke, some white and party coulloured. The Hogges grizled or grey, with very long bristles and haire, the Flesh of them savouring off Fish[3]. Dogges here great store, and some cattes, guinny hens allsoe like those att St Laurence[4], Partridges like those att Scio or Spane[5], Pidgeons and a smalle land Foule and butt only thatt one kind here to bee seen[6]; butt off Sea Fowle store and various. Fish Now scarce, allthough at other tymes plenty.

A Continuall succession off Sunshine and Rayne the Cause off itts present greenenesse and plenty off water, allthough sometymes there is a great alteration Found, by report, the grasse etts. burned and Dried For want

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[1] See Mandelslo, p. 261; Beaulieu (*Voyages de Thevenot*), vol. I. pt. ii), p. 119; Leguat, ed. Oliver, 298—300.

[2] Sir David Prain has identified this "Camomill" as *Cotula anthemoides*, a plant indigenous to St Helena, found in abundance around Jamestown.

[3] Goats and hogs were introduced into St Helena by the Portuguese.

[4] See *ante*, p. 365.

[5] Capt. Pasfield Oliver, in his edition of Leguat (Hak. Soc.), II. 300, footnote, identifies the partridge of St Helena with the *Caccabis chukar*, the well-known red-legged partridge of Northern India, *chakōr*. But from his remarks, Mundy evidently thought it to be identical with the equally well-known red-legged patridge of Europe, *Caccabis rufa*, usually called the French partridge: and he is probably right.

Mundy touched at Scio (Chios, Khios) on his way to Constantinople in the *Royall Merchant* in 1617. See vol. I. p. 16.

[6] The Wire-bird, *Ægialitis*, a species of rail, the only indigenous bird peculiar to the island.

therof[1]. Some of our Men wentt over to the other side of the Iland, whear, as they say (and likely), is better hunting both For store and goodnesse.

Greatt store of Dogges att St Helena.

Att our First landing, which was in lemmon vally (soe called beecause it leadeth uppe to some lemmon trees thatt stand by a little Rillett that commeth Downe in the said vally), as wee were going upp in itt, wee saw a kennell off Dogges off sundry sorts, aboutt 15 or 16, all white For oughtt wee could see, who, as soone as they had espide us, tooke right uppe against the steepy rocky hill. Some Dogges, att First lost or run away, have since encreased, and in tyme will Diminish the Cattle.

A mile above the old lemmon trees in the same vally, in a private and remote place, wee Found a certaine wall off stone by pilying them one on the other, enclosing a pretty [fair sized] peece off ground, and aboutt 22 or 23 Severall Names off Dutchmen written and graven on the stones in Anno 1637[2]. Some had the Month off May; others had $\frac{2}{9}$ and $\frac{5}{3}$ the upper signiffying the 2d off [*sic* ? or] 5th month From Marche, as I conceave[3], and the lower the Daies of the said Month. Soe thatt by consequence they must have remayned there about $2\frac{1}{2}$ monthes, having broughtt uppe and left there 2 great shippe ladders, itt beeing Near $3\frac{1}{2}$ Mile From the water side. Wee could not tell whatt to conjecture off itt.

[1] In April 1664 the crew of the *Loyall Merchant* found a scarcity of green provisions at St Helena, owing to "such Raines that washed away the Lower Plantation and then such drought that burned up all." *Orme MSS.* vol. 263, p. 33.

[2] Sir William Grey-Wilson informs me that these enclosures were built by the Portuguese for the pigs they imported into the island, which was a resort of Dutch traders up to 1651 when they deserted it for their colony at the Cape of Good Hope. The names Mundy saw inscribed on the walls of one of the pig pens were those of some Dutch ship's company in 1637.

[3] The year beginning on the 25th March according to the old reckoning.

The Chappell New repaired by the Dutch.

Comming to Chappell vally, Wee Found the Chappell New repaired by the Hollanders[1], covered with a tarpawlin off New Double Canvas, here having bin a Fleete in Aprill last, or rather was twelve Month. The Names of Divers shippes, principall Men, as allsoe off some weomen, were Fairely written on boards and Nailed upp in the said Chappell.

Saltt.

There commeth trilling downe the high Cleeves [cliffs] by the water side a certaine licor which congeales as itt runnes, as water Doth with us in Frosty weather. For all the way it came was thicke gledred[2]; and such places as Did overlooke hung Full off long spills like Isicles on the Eaves off a house, which in sightt and tast is only Mere salt From some salt Myne or Fountayne aloft[3].

Wee killed some store of hogges and goates and tooke Many little pigges alive; off the latter there was plenty. Whatt was caughtt was brought aboard, the Dead spentt presently [used at once], butt those alive were Fedd and preserved For Future reffreshing.

Having on a board written our Shippes Commaunders etts. Names, with the tyme off our arrivall and Departure Saint Laurence, Allsoe off the tyme off our arrivall and Departure hence, which wee made to bee the 15th currantt[4], wee placed and Nayled itt Fast in

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[1] The chapel was built *c.* 1502. See *ante*, note [1] on p. 412. See also vol. II. p. 329; E. L. Jackson, *St Helena*, p. 181.

[2] Glazed over, coated with the substance.

[3] Mundy is describing the spill from one of the blowholes higher up the hillside, which are not uncommon on this lofty rock-bound coast, sea-water being forced up through them in certain conditions of tide and wind.

[4] The 13th October, according to the diary given below.

the said Chappell by others thatt were there. And seeing No signe off Captain Carters beeing here in the *Catherine*[1], Itt was thoughtt best to make all the convenient hast home thatt lay in our power, thatt uppon our tymly arrivall Our Imployers Mightt know how to resolve in prosecuting this businesse and sending outt New supplies this Following spring, if they see occasion.

Our Departure St Helena.

The 13th off October [1638]. Att Nightt wee sett saile From St Helena[2].

The 14th Ditto. In the Morning wee had yett sightt off itt.

The Sunne right over our heads and yett very cold.

The 16th currantt [*October* 1638]. Wee had the Sunne in our Zenith, thatt is rightt perpendiculer over our heads, and yett soe could thatt a Man Mightt very well endure a good Cloath Sute on his backe. The reason, as afforementioned, May bee the continuall close cloudy weather and hard southerly windes which are here the Coldest, as the North windes with us[3]

Ascention Iland seene.

The 19th October [1638]. Wee had sightt off the Iland off Ascension, itt beeing aboutt the biggnesse off St Elena [*sic*][4] and allmost as Farre From any other land,

[1] The *Catherine* after leaving Achin (see *Relation* XXVII. p. 330) proceeded to Bhatkal, whence she was to have sailed for England, but "frustrated of that shee went to seeke, for there was neither pepper, money, nor men at Battecala," she followed the *Dragon* to Cochin and thence to Cananore, where Captain William Bayley found her in January 1639. See *English Factories*, 1637—1641, pp. 113, 120.

Mundy has more remarks on St Helena in May 1656 (*Relation* XXXVI.), when he found it in a much less fertile condition.

[3] See *ante*, note [2] on p. 411.

[4] The area of St Helena is 47 square miles and that of Ascension 38 square miles.

For St Helena afforesaid is the Farthest Distantt From any other Iland or Mayne whattsoever then any other Iland elce yett Discovered in the whole world, as May bee perceaved by the globe, For the Nearest unto itt is Ascension, which are Near 200 leagues asunder[1], and this Ascention aboutt 140 From some Ilands on the Coast off Guynny.

Now beegan the weather to bee warmer, wee beeing come to the Northward off the Sunne, and the Ayre cleared.

Crossed the Equator.

The 25th Ditto. Wee Crossed the Eaquator or Equinoctiall lyne and came to the Northward, and For my part I hope this will bee the last tyme off my Crossing itt any More.

Admirable sayling.

From the 27th off the last Month unto the last of this, Itt pleased God to lend us such Faire weather, smooth seas and Favourable windes thatt in all this tyme wee had scarce our tackes[2] aboard (except luffing in For St Helena), Nor lowered our topgallantt sailes, soe thatt in a Manner wee could not have Desired More (allthough wee had had, as the saying is, the wynde in a bagge[3]), And a wherry mightt have well com it withoutt any greatt Daunger, beeing Neare uppon leagues 1350, and through the Middest off the greatt Easterne Ocean.

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[1] Ascension is 800 miles north-west of St Helena.

[2] The nautical term "tack" is defined in the *O.E.D.* as "A rope, wire, or chain and hook used to secure to the ship's side the windward clews or corners of the courses (lower square sails) of a sailing ship when sailing close hauled on a wind; also the rope, wire, or lashing used to secure amidships the windward lower end of a fore-and-aft sail."

[3] I have found no instance of the expression "To have in a bag" applied in a nautical sense. It is probably a Cornish saying and the meaning is obviously "To have under control."

Abstractt of the Month of October Anno 1638.

2. Crost the South Tropicke.
8. Wee saw the Iland off St Helena.
9. Wee Anchored on the N.W. side therof.
10. Wee sett saile From St Helena[1]. Longitude from hence.
20. The Iland off Ascention seene.
25. Crost the Equator. From hence N. Latitude.
29. 30. 31. These 3 Daies a greatt N.W. currantt which sett us onward 92 Miles.

Gon in this Month off October the some of Miles...2376

November 1638. From the First of this Month unto the 8th wee had the windes att N.E., which is the generall wynde here away, and Made accomptt itt would have carried us to the Westward off the Azores, as usually it Doth; butt From the 8th itt proved otherwise, contrary to custom and expectation.

The [blank] came a swallow aboard, when yett by computation wee wear aboutt 100 leagues From any land, the Nearest beeing some of the Iles of Cape Verde.

Solitary allthough secure sayling.

The 13th Currantt [*November* 1638]. Wee mounted our Ordnance and Fitted our shippe, wee Drawing Near where wee might as well Meet with Foes as Freinds, For From Macao hither wee saw never a Saile att Sea (excecting [*sic*] the Dutch in the straightts off Mallacca[2] and vessells in or Near ports), sayling securely these Many Monthes, especially From Achein, without expecting or Doubting to meete with Freind or Foe or any other

[1] Mundy has mixed up his dates. See *ante*, pp. 415, 416 where he gives both the 13th and 15th October as the day of sailing from St Helena.

[2] See *Relation* XXVII. pp. 321—326.

daunger, All which More likely to bee mett withall in Drawing Near unto our owne Coast then in all the long tract thatt wee have gon.

Moreover, in all this Month wee had the windes soe Farre Northerly as the like hath sildom or Never bin Seene hereaboutts, Soe thatt wee were Constreyned to passe to the Eastward off the Azores, wheras generally all shippes comming From India are putt to the Westwards off them, where they meete with a westerly winde.

Abstractte of the Month of November Anno 1638.

13. Mounted 10 peeces Ordnance.
18. Some Few weedes scattred here and there these 2 daies.
19. Crossed the tropick of Cancer.
20. Our shippe beecame More leaky.
22. Found the said leake and stopt itt.
25. The leake broke outt againe and [was] stopt that night.
26. Wee tooke Downe our topgallant Masts.
27. A greatt N.W. sea.

Sayled in this Month off November the some of Miles 1823

St Maries one of the Wester Ilands.

December 1638. The 2d of this Month in the Morning wee saw the Iland of St Mary, one of the Azores, otherwise named the Wester Ilands, Flemmish Ilands, or Iles of Terceraes, this beeing the Eastermost of them all[1], aboutt 7 or 8 leagues distantt From us. Thatt evening wee past by itt, leaving itt on our larboard side, soe thatt

[1] A number of Flemings settled at the Azores (Açores) or Western Islands at the end of the 15th century, and the group was for a time known as the Flemish Islands. Terceira, as Mundy states, is the most easterly of the group, St Mary (Santa Maria) being the most southerly.

in this shippe wee make aboutt 10 Degrees off Easterly longitude More then wee did in the *Royall Mary* last voyage homeward[1], which may bee the reason wee saw no More weedes.

The 11th [*December* 1638]. Wee sounded and had ground in 75 Fathom.

The Sorlings.

The 12th [*December* 1638]. Wee had sightt of the Sorlings or Iles off Silly[2]. Wee past very Near them, and leaving them on our Starboard side, wee weathered the gulffe and came in to the Channell or Sleeve[3].

The 13th [*December* 1638]. Wee saw the highland over the Start [Point].

The 14th [*December* 1638]. Wee saw the Ile off Wightt in the Morning and Beachy [Head] before Nightt.

The 15th December [1638]. Wee came to Dover roade, where my selff with others were sett on shoare to proceed Forthwith to our Imployers with their lettres. Thatt evening wee tooke post horses and rode all nightt.

The 16th Ditto, beeing Sonday. Early in the Morning wee came to London, the end and period off this voyage, itt beeing 2 yeares 8 Monthes [blank] Daies since this shippe sett saile From the Downes till her arrivall there againe (which was the same Day wee parted From her), Our company in very good health, Few or None sicke. Gods Name bee praised For our preservation and saffe conduct to this our Native land and wished Port, Amen.

Decembers Abstract hath bin here omitted. However, From North lattitude 33 and West longitude 18 : 9,

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[1] In 1634. See vol. II. pp. 315—337.

[2] Les Sorlingues or Scilly Islands. The former is the French name for this group.

[3] By weathering "the gulffe," Mundy means weathering the two points of Mounts Bay, *i.e.*, Lands End and the Lizard. Here again he uses the French name for the English Channel (translated), La Manche, The Sleeve.

where wee were the last off November, unto the Downes, where the shippe arrived the [blank] off December, is accompted leagues [blank], is Miles [blank].

A greatt leake.

To bee noted that From the [blank] off [blank] unto the [blank] off [blank] beeing [blank] Monthes [blank] Daies, wee pumpt aboutt 80 strokes every glasse or halffe hower, which may bee att least 16 tonnes off water each 24 howers, itt neither much encreasing Nor Decreasing all this while, the leake lying aboutt her bowes, Not to bee come by. Yett it rather prooved beneficiall For the health off our Men then otherwise, itt beeing butt as it were a good breathing exercise Now and then For each Man to take a spell att the Pumpe (itt keeping as I said att a certaine stinte [fixed rate]); Neither Did they at all complaine off itt.

Two old Men.

Among our company were 2 old men not to bee Forgotten. The one Antonio Gonsalez, a Portugall, who was taken by Sir Francis Drake, was with him in the West Indies when hee Died, Married an English woman, and now homeward bound grew blind, a good honest poore old Man[1]. The other was Father Avery, our Cooke, who came in to the shippe att Gravesend, And allthough wee toutched att sundry ports, the shippe lying Near the shoare, boates and skiffes continually going to and From the shippes, yett was hee not knowne to sett his Foote on land (allthough hee were in good

[1] I have failed to trace this individual as a companion of Sir Francis Drake, either at Nombre de Dios, West Indies, where Drake died in January 1595, or in any of the previous voyages.

Among the Portuguese prisoners taken by Drake there was an Alonso Gonsalez, but this man's real name is said to be Alonso Sanchez Colchero, and he was, moreover, an old man in 1579, so that it is impossible to connect him with Mundy's shipmate. See Mrs Nuttall's *New Light on Drake* (Hak. Soc.), *s.v.* Colchero, Alonso Sanchez.

health) From the tyme hee came aboard att Gravesend, as aforesaid, untill the shippe arrived att Eriffe, where hee came to his long home, beeing carried ashoare there to [be] buried, who Died aboard as the shippe came uppe the River.

How in sayling North or South Daies Doe shorten or lengthen.

More one observation to helpe Fill this side, and soe to conclude, *Viz.*

Wee came outt off England, as you may perceave, the 14th off Aprill[1], when daies encrease, yett allthough wee sailed towards the Sunne on the same side off the lyne, the Daies allso encreasing in all parts as wee wentt, yett wee Found them aboard our shippe shorter and shorter till the beegining of June when as wee had butt 12 howres, and wee had aboutt 14 att our Departure, Decreasing with us as fast in our going to the Southward towards the Sunne as they encreased att home. For wheras wee had alltogether 14 howres the 14th off Aprill or thereaboutts, wee had the beegining of June butt 12 when you had 16 howres. And soe to the Contrary, if wee should come From the lyne in July when Daies Decrease with you, yett if wee arrive in a Monthes space, our Daies in the shippe proove longer and longer till wee come home. The reason therof May bee plainely Demonstrated by Discourse or on a terrestriall globe[2].

Summary of Miles sayled homeward bound From China to England, *viz.*

From Tayffoo [Tai-fu, Tiger Island] to enseada de Andres Feo[3] Miles 51

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[1] See *Relation* XXI. p. 23.

[2] Mundy has much more to say on this subject in his Appendix III, to be printed in a later volume.

[3] See *ante*, note on p. 25.

From Andresffeo by Macao unto Achein	Miles 1984
From Achein unto the Iland of Mauritius	Miles 2825
From Mauritius (beeing by computation within 100 leagues of the cape) wee sett saile, thincking to beat aboutt Cape bonesperanza, butt were Forced to beare uppe For Augustine bay on St Laurence	Miles 3713
From Saint Lawrence to St Elena and soe home	Miles 10350
Homeward bound wee have gon the some off	Miles 18923
Outtward bound, as per the particulers in Folio 141[1]	Miles 17281
In all wee have gon this presentt voyage From London unto China and backe againe in 2 yeares 8 Monthes and [blank] Daies tyme	36204

Which is 14604 Miles More then the compasse off the whole world is accompted to bee, *Viz.*, 360 Degrees att 20 leagues is leagues 7200 makes att 3 Miles per league 21600 miles, there wanting lesse then $\frac{1}{3}$ to make another Circuite.

End of the China voiage and 30th Relation.

The 13th of February beeing Valentines Even, I arrived att Penrin and from thence to Helston, which is 226 miles from London. The true end of our voyage homeward, Miles 17U507, in al 36U430 Miles.

[1] See *ante*, p. 234.

MUNDY'S NOTES TO RELATIONS XXI–XXX.

AN APPENDIX SOMWHATT CONCERNING THE FORMER RELATIONES, AS ALLSOE MATTER OF EXERCISE AND RECREATION AFTER THE READING OF SOE MANY TEDIOUS VOYAGES AND WEARY JOURNIES PENRIN, THE FOURTH FEBRUARY ANNO 1649, STILO VETERE [1650]: *VIZ.*[1]

6 shippes sett saile.

IN the foregoing Journall folio 112[2], Aprill the 14th 1636, you shall find thatt wee sett saile from the Downes with 6 shippes greatt and smalle, sett forth by Sir William Courteene, countenanced by King Charles, the Designe laudable, *viz.*, for Discovery of new trafficke for our English nation into forreigne parts.

The *Discovery* left beehind.

In folio 112[3], June the 4th 1636, you may perceave that in a galę of Winde wee left the *Discovery* (a victualler) beehinde, of whome wee understood afterward shee steered home againe, and beeing Near the landsend of England, shee was taken by turkish pirates and carried for Barbarye.

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[1] These Notes were written by Mundy after his return from his travels in Central and Northern Europe in 1640 to 1647.

[2] See *Relation* XXI. p. 23.

[3] An error for folio 114. See *Relation* XXI. p. 29.

Dangers and troubles in China.

You may allsoe read in the proceed of the China voyage whatt opposition, Danger and losse wee found, underwent and susteyned in China by the Portugalles and Chinois, allsoe discord and contradiction among our selves, particularly see folio 148 in November 1637 at this Marck, NB[1].

Shippe *Sunne* in Distresse.

You may allsoe read att Folio 167 and thereaboutts[2] in whatt eminent Danger, Distresse and Want wee were in att St Laurence or Madagascar and comming from thence in the *Sunne*.

Sir William Dead.

Sir William Courteene fell sicke a little before Wee sett forth, questionlesse to see himselffe soe farre engaged uppon an uncertainety, And within 3 Monthes after our departure (as wee heard Since)[3] hee Departed allso this life. Withoutt all Doubt the heavy Waightt of thatt businesse brake his heart.

John Fortune smoothered to Death or stiffled.

Mr Anthony Vernworthy, an old servaunt to the English East India Company, enterteyned in this Imploy-

[1] Here again Mundy is mistaken in the page of his MS. His "N.B." is beside the paragraph headed "In whatt case wee were in at that tyme," which is near the end of folio 147. See *Relation* XXVI. p. 275.

[2] The paragraph headed "Our extremity," which is near the end of folio 166, is marked N.B. in the original MS. See *Relation* XXIX. p. 378.

[3] The news of Sir William Courteen's death, on the 27th May 1636, reached the *Sun* when she was off Pedra Branca, on her way from Macao to Achin. See *Relation* XXVII. p. 321. In the account of Sir William Courteen given in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, it is stated erroneously that the loss of the *Dragon* and *Catherine* (in 1639) gave Sir William his deathblow.

ment, was left principall at Batacala [Bhatkal], who soone after Died[1], and one John Fortune thatt came over With us in the *Plante*[*r*] Succeeded him, a plaine honest quiet Man, but of No great courage, comportment Nor commaund, which is requisite to any thatt are in place and authority over others. Among others under him, there was one Peter van Dam, of Dutch parentts[2], who, it seemes, not having his will for Wyne or otherwise, consorted with some of the heathen (country people), came in at a time when the rest were asleepe, and binding pillowes to their Mouthes and faces, left them Soe. After which, the said Vandam, taking with him Monies and whatelce hee could, fledd to Goa among the Portugalls. The others beeing left in the Manner aforementioned, it seemes at length, through the boy who had hid himselffe, or otherwise people came to their Soccour, butt too late, for the said John Fortune Died therof, and the rest in great Danger.

Peter Van Dam hanged.

Newes of this Fact comming to Goa, the said Peter van Dam was for the same apprehended and hangued. Aboutt which tyme or soone after (butt too late) allsoe came lettres and Newes thatt an Unckle of his Died in London and left him 500*l.* sterling. Butt all availed not, for hee, as Many other, through unbrideled liberty and unlawfull Disordred courses, Destroy their fortune and lives; the rest of the People att Battacala, Factors, etts, lefft there, Most of them, if Not all, Dead[3]. Thus it hath bin reported unto Mee. Others have told mee thatt the said Vandam beeing att Goa, hee wold have

[1] See *Relation* XXII. pp. 94, 103. [2] See *Relation* XXII. p. 95.

[3] Of the fifteen persons left at Bhatkal, when the factory was settled in 1636, only seven survived in January 1638, and though Weddell attempted to re-establish the factory after he left Achin, it was "wholy deserted" in 1639. See *English Factories*, 1637—1641, pp. 35, 113 *n.*, 206.

betrayed the powder house unto the Hollanders, and thatt therfore hee suffred. However, the first fact has cause sufficient, and the first of these relationes the Most likely.

Capt. Weddell and Capt. Carter, shippes, goods and company lost, supposed to bee foundred in the Sea[1].

Yett More Disasters. Captaine Weddell in the *Dragon*, Admirall, with the Cheife Merchantts, Preachers, etts., and Captaine Carter in the *Catherine*, rere admirall, since their departure [blank] in [blank][2] were never More heard of, and therefore given for lost, supposed to bee either cast away on the great and Dangerous shoalds and sands without St Laurence, beetweene it and India, or foundred and Swallowed in the Sea, shippes, goodes, with all the Soules in them. The shippes were old and long outt. Questionlesse, had they come home, they had Made a Ritch voyage as Well for them selves as for the Imployers[3].

This last losse, with many others not here Mentioned, hath broughtt the Squire Courteene into such troubles thatt, seeing hee could Find no quiettnesse at home, hee hath withdrawne himselffe outt of the land unto Leghorne or Livorno in Italy[4]. Hee was by report lefft by his father att his Death worth [blank] *l.* sterling in lands, goods, shipping, etts.

I Conclude this unfortunate voyage (to some, though not to all) with this consideration. Thatt, Allthough itt

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[1] See the various stories of Weddell's fate related in Appendix B.

[2] The *Dragon* and the *Catherine* sailed from the West Coast of India in the spring of 1639.

[3] It is odd that Mundy has no mention of the prevalent opinion that the Dutch were answerable for the loss of the *Dragon* and the *Catherine* with their crews. See the notice of Weddell in Appendix B.

[4] William Courteen, son of Sir William Courteen, found his father's estate seriously embarrassed, and he was further troubled by litigation with his cousin, Peter Boudean, who had seized the property in Holland belonging to Courteen's Association.

was sett forth on lawfull ground and intended to good purpose, yett you see it hath bin Followed with evill successe. Att other tyme you shall Find the contrary, thatt evill purposes speed well. Therefore itt stands not with equity to Judge of the goodnesse or badnesse of a cause or action by the good or bad Successe therof, Only thatt itt is Gods pleasure who worcketh all according to his owne will for the best, allthough it may seeme Strange to our humaine reason and sence.

APPENDIX A.

OFFICIAL PAPERS CONNECTED WITH COURTEEN'S ASSOCIATION.

1. Charles I. becomes a shareholder, 6 Dec. 1635.

(*Public Record Office*, C.O. 77/6, No. 7.)

CHARLES R.

Wheras wee have commanded our trustie and wellbeloved subject Captain John Weddell to undertake a voyage to Goa, Malabar, the Coast of China and other places thereaboutes with severall ships, and have Called in and expresly comanded our trustie and faythfull servant, Endymion Porter Esqr., one of the groomes of our bed chamber, and our trustie and welbeloved subjects, Sir William Courten, Knight, Thomas Kynaston and Samuell Bonnell, Merchants[1], with theire partners, to adventure in the said voyage.

Now for assurance of our reall affection to the prosperity of the same and for better encouragement of the said Adventurers in soe hopefull an undertaking, Wee doe herby signifie and declare that wee will put into the Joynte stocke with the said adventurers the somme of Tenne thousand pounds, for payment wherof wee will in due time give our privie seale.

Given under our hand At our Courte at Whitehall the 6th of December 1635.

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[1] Endymion Porter, after whom Weddell named a group of islands (see *Relation* XXIV. p. 139), was a royal favourite. Thomas Kynaston and Samuel Bonnell were London merchants who had been associated with Porter in the privateering expedition of the *Samaritan* and the *Roebuck* in 1635. See *Relation* XXI. p. 34, and Mr Foster's Introduction to Sainsbury's *Court Minutes*, 1635—1639, pp. xiv—xvi.

2. The Royal Commission to Captain John Weddell and his associates, 12 Dec. 1635.

(*Public Record Office*, C.O. 77/6, No. 9.)

CHARLES by the grace of God Kinge of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To our Trusty and welbeloved Subject[s] Captain John Weddell and Nathaniell Mountney greetings.

Whereas you Captain John Weddell beinge Commander of the Shipps which returned this last Sommer from the East Indies, togeather with you Nathaniell Mountney Merchant cheife Accomptant in those parts for the Company of Merchants tradinge to the same, did in your way homewardes touch at Goa and the Parts of Mallabar and were there by the Vice Roy of our deare Brother the Kinge of Spaine not onely well receaved and welcommed, but the said Vice Roy from our said Brother did, as well by Letters to our said Brother as by a Contract signed by himselfe and Councell on their parts, And for us by the President and Councell imployed by the said East India Company, conclude a truce and free trade not onely at Goa aforesaid but also at Chine and all other parts where they have any free trade in the East Indies[1], Provided it might stand with the good likinge of us and our said deare Brother, which may tend to the ventinge of good quantities, not onely of the nature and staple Commodities of this our Kingdome, but also of the Manufactures and other Merchandizes usually exported from hence into forraigne parts, which by reason of these troublesome times have not of late had so quicke and proffitable vent and sale as heretofore.

And whereas wee are credibly informed that in all this time since the erection of the said East India Company, notwithstandinge the manifold priviledges granted to them, they have neither so planted and setled trade in those parts nor made any such fortification or place of suerty as may give assurance or encouragement to any in future times to adventure to trade there, neither have wee receaved any annuall benefit from thence (as other Princes do) by

[1] See *Relation* XXIV, note on p. 160.

reason of the said Companies neglect in fortifyinge, but have meerly intended and pursued their owne present proffit and advantage without providinge any safety or settlednesse for establishinge of traffique in the said Indies for the good of Posterity or for longer time then it shall please the natives and Inhabitants there to permit the continuance thereof; Whereas the Portugall and Dutch have planted and fortified themselves there and established a lastinge and hopefull trade there for the good of posterity, and by advantage thereof have not onely rendred our said Subjects (abidinge in those parts) subject to their insolencies and apparant injuries, but in a manner wrought them out of trade there, which wee finde not onely by the Complaint of Divers of the Adventurers in that society, but principally by the dayly decrease of our Customes for goods imported from thence, which wee can impute to nothinge more then the said Companies supine neglect of discovery and setlinge of trade in divers places in those parts when they had a plentifull Stocke and faire opportunities to have compassed and effected it.

And forasmuch as wee have of late caused severall voyages to bee made and enterprised for the discovery of the Northwest Passage towards the East Indies through the Northerne Seas, which have not beene so successfull as was expected [1], And yet not willinge to lay aside a worke of so greate importance and consequence whilest there is any hope to effect it, which wee are enformed and doe beleive may probably bee performed from Jappan Northeast to the North part of the Californias on the backeside of America about forty degrees north latitude, and so Coast alonge Northward, Eastward and Westward, as the land will give way, to sixty fower degrees Northward, where it is left undiscovered by Sir Thomas Button, Captain Luke Fox and others [2], to come through the Straight of Hudson

[1] The allusion is to the two expeditions of 1631, fitted out by the merchants of London and Bristol respectively.

[2] Sir Thomas Button, who died in 1634, commanded the *Resolution* and *Discovery* in 1612—1613 in an expedition financed by London merchants. He entered Hudson Bay, discovered Nelson River and explored the shore of Southampton Island. Captain Luke Fox

in the Westerne or Atlantique Sea. Knowe yee therefore that wee havinge maturely and seriously considered that the encrease of Trade and Navigation is the principall meanes to bringe honour and wealth to this our Kingdome, And havinge nothinge more in our eye and affections then the honour and strengthninge thereof and the good and enrichinge of our Subjects, And beinge resolved to leave no faire and probable meanes unattempted which may in likelyhood bringe to passe these our designes and desires and raise a trade which may employ our Subjects and the Shippinge of our Kingdome in Case the trade of the aforesaid Company should faile, which wee easily foresee would bee of verie ill consequence to us and our Kingdome,

And reposinge especiall trust and confidence in your approved fidelity, ability, Judgement and experience in Maritime affaires, Have appointed and authorized, And doe by these presents under our Royall Signature and Signet give you not onely Licence and expresse Command, but also full power and authority, with the good Shipps the *Dragon*, the *Sunn* and the *Katherine*, with one or more Pinnaces, at the openinge of this next springe to undertake a voyage to Goa, the parts of Mallabar, the Coast of China and Jappan, there to trade for such commodities and Merchandizes as may bee sold and vented with most proffit and advantage, and as well as you can conveniently to open a safe and setled way for entercourse and trade in these parts for all other our Subjects for the future.

And likewise by the way, if occasion shalbee offered, to touch at Cape Bona Esperance in thirty fower degrees or there abouts South latitude, The Isla[nd] of St Lawrence with adjacent Islands, the Coast of Mosambiqu[e], Sefala and Ethiopia, the Island of Socotora, the Coast of Arabia, the gulfe of Persia, the Coast of India, the Coast of Mallabar, and havinge there refreshed your selves, and beinge furnished with all necessaries, you are from thence to proceed to the Island of Ceylon and other adjacent Islands, the Coast of Cormondell, the Gulfe of Bengala, the Coast of

(1586—1635) commanded the *Charles* pinnace in 1631, explored the west and north of Hudson Bay and made observations in Fox's Channel on the west shore of Baffin Land.

Pegu, the Island of Sumatra, the Straights of Mallacca Sunda and Banca, with the Islands of Java, Macassar[1], Borneo, Gillolo, with the Moluccos Islands[2], with Nova Guinea and adjacent Islands Southward and Eastward, the Coast of Siam, Cauchinchina and China, with the Islands of Aynan, Leginos[3], Philipinas, with the Straights of Manillos[4], the Islands of Jappan, the Coast of Cathaia and Tartaria, or to any other place whatsoever where occasion of trade or discovery shall leade you in the voyage aforesaid, And to imploy your best diligence, industry and endeavours not onely to trade for such goods, money, commodities and merchandizes as you carry from hence, wherein you have hereby full power and authority to carry with you such Money, goods and other Commodities as you shall conceave may best conduce and tend to the advantage and good successe of this voyage, but also in exchange thereof to bringe home from thence such Jewells, Money, Gold, Silver, goods, Commodities and Merchandizes as you in your Judgements and discretions shall think may bee of best value and advantage to the Merchants and Adventurers in this voyage.

And wee doe likewise hereby further give you your Command and also authority at your best conveniencie, when you shall come into the parts of China, Jappan, or from any other parts where you shall thinke fittinge, to send from thence one of your Shipps or Pinnaces or such other vessell or vessells as you can buy more fit, well prepared and furnished with such necessaries and provisions and mann'd with a sufficient Cupplement[5] of Men under the Charge and Command of such able Person or Persons as you shall thinke fit to search for and discover the Northeast passage to the North part of the Californias on the backeside of America as aforesaid, and to meete with the Northwest passage so farre discovered by Sir Thomas Button, Captain Luke Fox and others, so to enter into the Straights of Hudson into the Westerne or Atlantique

[1] Celebes, of which Macassar is the capital.

[2] Gilolo or Halmaheira is one of the Molucca group.

[3] "Aynan" is Hainan, and "Leginos" may possibly be a copyist's error for Luzon.

[4] S. Bernardino Strait.

[5] For "complement."

Sea. For better performance whereof you are to give the person whome you imploy therein a Commission with such directions and instructions as you in your experience and Judgement and upon advice shall conceave best to conduce to the happy discovery of the said Passage, And to use any other meanes you shall thinke meet for the better effectinge of this designe.

And Wee doe hereby graunt you full power to give such Persons order and authority to take possession for us of all such Lands as they shall discover and conceave may bee of advantage and honorable for us to owne and hold, And Wee doe hereby give to the discoverers thereof and their Adventurers and their heires for ever Moyety or halfe part of all benefits of Customes and Duties or whatsoever els by Trade plantation or otherwise may arise thereby in recompence of their Charge and hazarde in the discovery [1], Reservinge to ourselfe onely the Soveraignty thereof and the Interest and disposinge of the other Moyety or half part. You are likewise to order such discoveries [discoverers] to raise and set up good and stronge Sea Markes for direction for themselves and others that shall againe repaire into those parts.

And for your better accomplishment of these hopefull Services and imployments, tending so much to the Common good of our People and Kingdome, Wee doe hereby put under your Charge and Command all the said Shipps, the *Dragon*, the *Sunn* and the *Katherine* [2], and other Pinnaces and Vessells sett forth for this voyage and enterprise, or which shalbee added to the same, Givinge you full power and absolute authority, togeather with the advice and consent of twelve able and sufficient men which shalbee of Councell and consist of sixe able Seamen and sixe Merchants and factors such as you shall select and in your Judgments conceave most able, of which the Captaine of

[1] In June 1637, when the grant to Courteen's Association was recited in detail, it was explained that by "discoverers" the King meant only the actual promoters of the scheme and the chief "Adventurers" in the Voyage, and "not the Parties imployed by or under them." See *Public Record Office MSS., C.O.* 77/6, No. 44.

[2] See No. 3, *infra*.

the Admirall [leading ship] shall have a bearinge voyce to order dispose and Command all the Masters, Pilotts, Boatswaines, Gunners, Officers and others whatsoever aboard or belonginge to them or any of them, and likewise to Order, Dispose and Command all the Merchants, Factors, Pursers and all others whatsoever aboord or belonginge to them or any of them, and power to displace and put out of their Offices such as they shall not finde fittinge to undergoe the same, and to put into the same Offices such others as they shall conceave more fittinge and Capable, and likewise to take out of one ship and put into the others such person and Persons as they shall conceave fittinge and necessary as may be most behoofull and advantagious for this worke and Service, And in case of matters of Privacy the Councill to consist of five, whereof the Captaine of the Admirall and Cheife Merchannt to bee two, and they to make choice of three others. And if any Officer or other person apperteyninge to the said Service or Shipps shalbee Refractory to your Command and directions on this behalfe or commit any disorders or offence worthy of punishment, Wee doe hereby authorize and Command you to punish him or them so offendinge accordinge to the knowne Orders and Customes of the Sea.

And because in so longe a voyage there may bee occasion for more severe punishments then ordinary, Wee have given order for one other Commission to bee given Authorisinge you to execute Marshall Lawe upon all such as shall so farre forget themselves and their duty as to deserve the same[1]. And Wee doe give you further authority and power hereby that in case you shall finde it requisite to leave any Merchannts or others a shoare for the good of the Trade either at Goa, the Coast of Mallabar, China, Jappan or in any other place whatsoever where you come, you are to make choice of the most able and trusty amongst your Shipps that are willinge there to remaine and to constraine none that are unwillinge to stay behinde, you takinge especiall care that those whome you leave in those parts behind you may bee safe and well treated, and leavinge

[1] See No. 4, *infra*.

in writinge under your hand and the Common Seale of your Company a signification to all our Subjects that shall or may finde them there that it is our expresse pleasure and Command that they doe not molest, hinder or disturbe such Persons as you shall so leave in their quiet trade and traffique at their perill and upon paine of our high indignation and displeasure.

And Wee doe moreover hereby give full power and authori[ty] to you and such as are adventurers with you in this so lauda[ble] an undertakinge to make and use one Common Seale wherein is to bee engraven A Lyon passant gardant between three Imperiall Crownes to seale all dispatches, Certificates, Letters and other matters concerninge this imployment and affaire[1].

And wee doe hereby declare that our expresse Will and pleasure is that all the Licences, liberties, Priviledges, Commands, powers and authorities hereby given and grannted shall stand, bee good and effectuall to you and all the Adventurers with you and all persons imployed with or under you, Notwithstandinge any grannt or Pattents formerly given to the Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies, The Turky Company or any others whatsoever. And Wee doe hereby expressly Command and Charge aswell all officers as others whatsoever belonginge to the said East India Company or imployed from by or under them or any of them not to molest disturb or hinder the Execution of our Commands hereby given, or any officer or other Person imployed in the same by any wayes or meanes whatsoever, as they and every of them will answer the Contrary at their uttermost perill.

And lastly our especiall Command is that for any thinge done or to bee donne by vertue of this our Commission that neither you, the said Captain John Weddell and Nathaniell Mountney or any others which are or shalbee Adventurers or imployed in the same, shall at any time either before duringe or after the said voyage bee sued, questioned, impleaded in Lawe, or in any sort molested or troubled by reason of sendinge the said Shipps to the parts of the East

[1] See *Relation* XXI, pp. 19—20.

Indies or to any the parts or places herein mentioned, for that it hath been our especiall direction and Command to send the same, and for sundry waighty reasons and matters best knowne to us, so as the same bee not for matters performed contrary to this our Commission or to the prejudice of the Adventurers in this voyage.

And as an Ensigne [token] that you are especially imployed by us, and of our gracious Care of the good of the Designe, wee doe hereby authorise and require you to carry in all your Shipps the same Colours commonly called the union Flagge, which our owne shipps and none but the Shipps imployed in our particular Service ought to beare, notwithstandinge our expresse Proclamation heretofore to the Contrary.

And as for all other matters either of government or otherwise concerninge the said imploy[ment] and Discovery, Wee referre you to the Instructions sign[ed] by us bearing Date with theis presents.[1]

GIVEN at [*our*] *Court of Whitehall this Twelveth day of December* 163[5] *and in the eleaventh yeare of our Raigne.*

3. Instructions for our Trusty and Welbeloved Captain John Weddell and Nathaniell Mountney, imployed by especiall Commission from us under our Royall Signature and Signet, bearing date with these presents, in a voyage to Goa, Mallabar, the Coast of China and Jappan, &c. [dated 12 Dec. 1635].

(*Public Record Office, C.O.* 77/6 *No.* 12.)

FIRST you are to take charge and Command of the good Shipps the *Dragon, Sunn, Katharine, Planter, Ann* and the *Discovery*, together with such other Pinnaces or Vessells as our trusty and welbeloved Servant Endymion Porter and our faithfull Subjects, Sir William Courten, Knight, Thomas Kynnaston and Samuell Bonnell, Merchants, and the rest of the Adventurers in this Voyage shall set forth

[1] See No. 3, *infra*.

or give directions for, and of all our subjects imployed in the same.

You are in the first place to provide that God bee duely served in all your Shipps twice a day according to the Liturgie of the Church of England.

As for government and ordering of the Companies belonging to every vessell, you are to direct and performe that charge according to the knowne Orders and Customes of the Seas and the powers wee have given you by our Commissions bearing date with these Presents.

You are in this imployment to take especiall Care to treate and use all our Subjects Allies and Friends, wheresoever you meete with them at Sea or on Shoare, fairely and freindly.

Forasmuch as there hath been an Overture and an Offer made of a Peace and Trade by the Vice Roy of our deare Brother the King of Spaine to the President of our East India Company now remayning at Surat and to you our Captaine Weddell and Nathaniell Mountney, Wee out of our desire to embrace the same for the good of Us and our Subjects, Will require and authorise you to repaire to Goa and there to begin and settle a Trade for the Vent of such Comodities as you export from this our Kingdome and for trading with them for such Comodities of these parts as may bee of most benefit and Advantage for Us and the Adventurers in this voyage.

But in Case the Vice Roy of Goa shall not proceed in the said Overture of Trade formerly made by him to you on the behalfe of our said Brother, but either forbid the same or admit it in such a way and on such hard conditions as wilbee of little proffit considering the charge of the Adventure you carry, whereby you shalbee constrayned to change your course, Then Wee doe hereby Will and Command you to repaire to such places as you shall conceave may conduce to the most benefit of the Adventurers aforesaid, and soe trade from place to place and port to port, imploying your best industry and Diligence to vent the Merchandizes you carry to the best proffit and to procure as advantagious a returne for the same as you possibly can, according to such

particular directions and Orders as you shall receave from the parties aforesaid being the Cheife Adventurers in this Voyage.

The principall Scope of our intentions in giving this power and Commission to you is to find out and open an Advantagious way of Trade in those parts where as yet there is none established, and to that purpose you are to shape your way and Course as you shall there on the place find to bee conducing to that our Royall purpose and as may be most for the good of our subjects and of the Navigation of this our Kingdome.

And whereas it may bee necessary for the good and better settling of such Trade that you Nathaniell Mountney, being Cape Merchant[1] in this imployment, not onely goe and abide ashoare yourself, but that you take with you others of our Subjects for the better managing carrying and establishing of the Trade in those parts, Wee doe hereby give to you the said Nathaniell Mountney all such authority power and Comand for government and ordering of our said Subjects on shoare as Wee have hereby or by any of our Commissions given to Captaine John Weddell at Sea or a ship-boord.

When you shalbee arrived at Jappan you are in the first place to present our Letters to that Emperor and to proceed to trade according as you shall receave encouragement there, and you are also there to provide and take Order to send some fit vessell to search for and discover the North East passage from thence, imploying therein such able and expert men as you shall make choyce of as fittest for the discovery of the said passage, taking especiall Order withall that the persons you imploy therein keepe exact Journalls and observations whereby they may give us a perfect and certaine Account of that their imployment, and authorising them to erect and set up such Markes on the Shoares and places where they shall come and passe as may bee notorious and of assured directions for them or any others that shall come after them.

If it shall please God to take you, Captain Weddell, out of this world before th'end of this Voyage, Then our

[1] See *Relation* XXV. note [3] on p. 216.

will and pleasure is that such persons shall soe successively succeed in this charge as Wee have nominated in severall Boxes marked with the figures 1. 2. 3. 4., and to that purpose Wee doe hereby give them and every of them soe succeeding as full and ample power and authority to all Intents and purposes as Wee have given you either by any of our said Comissions or by these our Instructions.

And our will and pleasure is That you Captain Weddell and Nathaniell Mountney shall hereby have full power and authority to put in execution all such Instructions and directions as shalbe joyntly given by our said servant Endymion Porter, and our said faithfull and Loyall Subjects Sir William Courten, Thomas Kynnaston and Samuell Bonnell or any three of them (whereof the said Endymion Porter and Sir William Courten to bee two of them) and the rest of the Adventurers in this Voyage in writing under their hands and Seales for the well Ordering and government of the Merchants, Factors, Mariners, Boatswaines and other Officers and Seamen in any of the said Shipps, and for the better preserving and venting of the goods and Merchandizes of the said Adventurers, As also in bringing home such returnes as they shall conceave wilbee of most benefit and Advantage, Which Order and Direction of theirs shalbee as effectuall in as ample manner and sort as if the same were herein particulerly inserted under our Royall hand.

GIVEN at our Court at Whitehall this 12th day of December 1635 *And in the Eleaventh yeare of our Raigne.*

4. Royal Commission to use Martial Law, dated 12 Dec. 1635.

(*Public Record Office, C.O.* 77/6 No. 10.)

CHARLES by the grace of God King of England Scotland Fraunce and Ireland Defender of the faith &c. To our Trusty and welbeloved Subject Captain John Weddell greeting.

WHEREAS by our Commission bearing Date with these presents Wee have given you power and Command of all our Subjects imployed and to be imployed in the good Shipps the *Dragon*, the *Sunn*, the *Katherine* and one or more Pinnaces

in a Voyage to Goa, Mallabar, the Coast of China, Jappan and other places thereabouts.

NOW to thend that all disorders, Mutinies, Outrages and Disobedience in such Mariners, Seafaring Men and others as shalbee imployed in the said Shipps or Pinnaces tending to the disturbance of our peace or the said Voyage and prejudice of our loving Subjects imployed therein may bee timely prevented by due punishment, Wee doe by these presents give and graunt unto you the said Captaine JOHN WEDDELL in case of Urgent necessity (and unto all such as shall succeed you by vertue of our Commission under our Royall Signature and Signet) full power and authority to Call hold and keep a MARTIALL Court, and therein aswell by examination of Witnesses upon their Oathes as by all other lawfull wayes and meanes to heare and determine all Causes Criminall, Mutinies, Disobediences and all unlawfull Acts and Deeds of what nature name or quallity soever they bee Done or Committed by any Mariner, Seaman or other person or persons of or belonging to any of the Shipps or Pinnaces aforesaid, And all Offenders therein to Chastice, Correct and punish as the greatnesse and quallity of the fault requireth (that is to say) for any wilfull Murther or any notable Mutiny (the same being by due and lawfull wayes and meanes truely and justly proved) you the said Captain JOHN WEDDELL shall have full power to Execute and take away their life or any Member in force and Order of MARTIALL LAWE. And for all other lesser Offences to punish the delinquents according to the knowne Lawes and Orders of the Sea.

AND lastly to heare and Determine all such private Contracts matters Causes Contraversies and Complaints as shall happen to arise growe or bee moved betweene any Person or persons in the said Shipps and Pinnaces That private quarrells or Dissentions may not hinder or prejudice the Service and Imployment for which you have receaved Commission from Us as aforesaid.

AND these presents shalbee unto you a sufficient warrant and discharge for the doing and executing or causing to bee done and executed all and every such Act and Acts thing

and things as you shall finde requisite needfull and necessary to bee done concerning the Premisses.

GIVEN at our Court at Whitehall under our Royall Signature and Signet this Twelveth Day of December and in the 11th yeare of our Raigne.

5. Royal Commission for taking Prizes, dated 19 Dec. 1635.

(*Public Record Office, C.O. 77/6 No. 13*).

CHARLES by the grace of God King of England Scotland France and Ireland Defender of the faith &c. To our trusty and Welbeloved Captaine JOHN WEDDELL or to the Cheife Commander of the Fleete, whereof the *Dragon* is Admirall, set forth by Comand from Us for a Voyage to the South Seas &c.

WHEREAS upon an Overture of Trade made in January last was twelve moneth by the Vice Roy of Goa from our deare Brother the King of Spaine unto the President and Councell of our East India Company, Wee embracing the said Offer have in pursuite thereof Commanded to bee set forth the good Shipps the *Dragon* the *Sunn*, the *Katherine*, the *Planter*, the *Ann* and the *Discovery*, being laden with goods and Merchandizes of great value proper and fit for Trade with the Portugalls and others in those parts.

FORASMUCH as Wee and divers of our Subjects by our Command have been at a very great charge in setting forth and lading the said Shipps and Vessells, whereby to give assurance of our Royall and cleare intents to embrace and entertaine the Trade soe freely offered unto Us as aforesaid, and not having meanes in soe short a space to settle the same by such a formall League and Treaty with our said Brother as is requisite to oblidge either of Us to give way to such a free Trade and Commerce.

THESE are therefore to require and authorize you in Case the subjects of our said Brother the King of Spaine, when you come to Goa and other parts thereabouts in our said Brothers Dominions, shall refuse and hinder you in trading in those parts contrary to their owne voluntary Offer made

as aforesaid, or that any other Persons Subjects of our Allies or otherwise, when you endeavour to trade freely, shall in contempt of our Commissions Letters and Instructions given you under our Royall hand a[nd] S[i]g[n]et use any Violence to any of the Shipps under your Command or to the goods or persons serving in or belonging to the same Shipps or Vessells. Then and not otherwise to use your best endeavour Courage and Industry.

AND wee doe hereby give you full power and authority in such Case to take and apprehend such of our said Brothers Subjects Shipps and Goods, and all others whatsoever trading in those Seas or abiding in those Countreys as shall hinder or oppose you in any part beyond the Lyne, and not elswhere, and to take their Shipps and Goods and make priz[es] thereof. To th'end that the great expences and Costs that have been by our Command disbursed in this Voyage soe hopefull and tending soe much to the good of Us and our Kingdomes may not by the Contempt or opposition of any persons, who for their owne ends shall endeavour to overthrowe and discourage soe good and publique a Service bee rendred fruitlesse. For which this shalbee your Warrant.

Given at our Court at Whitehall under our Royall Signature and Signet the 19th of December, 1635. *And in the Eleaventh year of our Raigne.*

6. Letter from His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Charles I. to the representatives of the Dutch East India Company in India, *dated 20th February,* 1635.

Hague Transcripts (*Translations*), 1st Series, Vol. x. No. cccxli[1].

CHARLES by the Grace of God, King of England Scotland France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, to our

[1] The English version of the Royal Letter here given is a translation of the Dutch version dated 27th January 1637, which in its turn was a translation from the original Latin

beloved Governor Generals, Captains and other subjects of the United Dutch Provinces in the East Indies, greeting[1].

Having from our Royal dominions, for the improvement of commerce and the increase of prosperity and wellbeing of our people and the whole of Christendom, equipped and armed the following of our good ships, *viz.*, the *Dragon*, the *Sun*, the *Katherine*, the *Planter* the *Ann* and the *Discovery*, and sent them out under command of our servants and subjects, John Weddell and Nathaniel Mountney, with orders to find suitable sites for establishing an advantageous trade in the countries of the South and neighbouring islands, we have, at their request, been pleased to inform you of this intention, trusting that you will on all occasions and under any circumstances be willing to render them service and provide them with such necessaries as may, in the opinion of their captains and superior officers, be required for the continuance of their voyage, and also allow them freely to enter and leave your harbours without molestation or annoyance (provided they comport themselves with due propriety), in the same manner as you expect us to treat your subjects residing under our jurisdiction.

Given in our Palace at Whitehall, 20th February 1635, *in the eleventh year of our reign.*

CHARLES R.

[Endorsed]

To our much beloved and illustrious General of the United Oriental East India Company under the dominion of the High and Mighty States General of the United Netherlands, and to the directors, Captains, &c. Commanders of the said Company[2].

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[1] There is a note here, " The original was in Latin."

[2] After the endorsement the following remark is added :—" This translation having been compared with the original letter written by His Majesty the King, being on paper and signed as above, bearing the seal of His Majesty the King of Great Britain in red wax, has been found to correspond word for word with the right sense and meaning, having first been accurately translated and compared by me, Hendrik Bruynings, Secretary to the Honorable Commander Jacob Cooper and the Grand Council for the present Fleet of Defence. In the ship *Utrecht* this 27th day of January 1637 off the bay of Goa." For the meeting of Weddell and the Dutch Commander off Goa on the 17th January 1637 O.S. (27th N.S.), see *Relation* XXII. pp. 69—70.

7. Charles I. to Captain Weddell, on the return of the *Planter*, confirming previous grants, dated 14 March 1638. (*State Papers, Dom., Chas. I.*, vol. 385, No. 72.)

TRUSTY and welbeloved Wee greet you well. Wee perceave aswell by the Returne you have made as by the good accompt you have given of your proceedings that Wee were not deceaved in our choice of you for the charge and imployment you are now upon by our Command. And as Wee doubt not but you will Crowne your good beginnings with a happy Successe, Soe you may rest assured that you shall not faile upon all occasions to finde favour and encouragement therein from Us answerable to the importance of the business and our gracious promise to you.

And let not any Rumours or reports which may bee raised from such here as maligne or envy your imployment beget in you any distrust of our continued esteeme of you or doubt that Wee wilbee perswaded to decline soe hopefull an undertaking. And that you and your Adventurers may thereof bee the more confident, Wee have now lately under our greate Seale confirmed the Commission and powers Wee formerly (under our hand and Signet) gave to you and them.

And as We formerly by our Instructions to you wished you to bee carefull not to Prejudice the Trade of our East India Company in the Indies, Soe Wee have now commanded that Company not to Trade at Baticala [Bhatkal] or elswhere on the Coast of Mallabar or in the East Indies where they had none and you have setled Factories, Soe great a Care Wee have of your prosperity in this your imployment.

Given at our Court at Whitehall the 14th of March 1637 [1638].

[Endorsed.]

To our trusty and welbeloved Subject Captaine John Weddell Commander of the Fleete, whereof the *Dragon* is Admirall, imployed by Us to the Indies.

APPENDIX B.

1. Captain John Weddell.

A notice of Captain John Weddell by Professor J. K. Laughton appears in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, where his services under the East India Company are related in detail. The following remarks are in addition to the information supplied by Professor Laughton, and are principally concerned with the period of Weddell's association with Mundy and with the conflicting reports of his death.

The Weddells appear to have been a Yorkshire family, some branches of which migrated to London in the 16th century. A William Weddell of York was residing in St Dunstan's in the West early in the 17th century. He had a son John, but I have failed to identify him with the commander of the *Dragon*.

Captain John Weddell had married his wife Frances before 1630, when one quarter of his pay was allotted to her at his request. In December of that year Mrs Weddell was granted £20 out of her husband's wages "in regard of her present use of money, haveing lately married one of her daughters." This daughter was probably Elizabeth, the wife of Edward Wye, to whom her father's portrait was bequeathed by her mother in 1652. Weddell's elder son Jeremy was a member of Courteen's Expedition, but Mundy has no mention of him until 1638, when he was on board the *Sun* at Madagascar.

Among the *India Office Records* are some letters written by Captain John Weddell, while commander of Courteen's fleet, to his old associates in the East India Company's service. The first is dated from Johanna, Comoro Is., on the 29th August 1636, and was sent to Surat by the *Mary*. It is signed by Weddell and Nathaniel Mountney, who

surmise that their "ancient fellow servants" will find it strange "to heare of soe manie of your ould acquaintance imployed uppon a new designe, but let his Majesties pleasure and the good tearmes and sattisfaction which wee received in England resolve you, as it hath done us, that all our intendments are both faire, just and honest." After disclaiming any participation in the recent piratical acts of the *Samaritan* and the *Roebuck*, and maintaining that they still took a deep interest in the wellbeing of their "ancient Masters," they referred to their enclosure, a copy of a letter from King Charles I, "scribed with his owne hand," which "wee beleeve will give you good sattisfaction." This document runs as follows :—

"CHARLES R. Truelie [*sic*] and well beloved, wee greet you well Whereas the good Shipps the *Dragon*, the *Sunne*, the *Katherine*, the *Planter* and the *Anne* and the *Discovery* are set forth by our spetiall command for a voyadge and discovery to the South Sea under the principall charge of our trustie and wellbeloved subjects Captain John Weddell and Nathaniel Mounteney, in which adventure we have a particuler interest, Our expresse pleasure and Command is that if any of the said shipps or vessells shall at any tyme through distresse of weather or crosse windes, or for supplie of any necessaries or refreshments of theire men, repaire of theire shipps, or any other occasion whatsoever, repaire where you have to doe, that you not only give them your best help and supplie them with any provisions you can spare them and they shall want, But alsoe that you Permitt and suffer them freely and quietlie to proceed in the voyadge for which they are designed, as you tender[1] our displeasure and will answare the Contrarie at your and every of your Perills.

"*Given at our Court at Whitehall the* 30*th Day of March* 1636 *and in the* 11*th yeare of our reigne.*

"[Endorsed] To our trusty and welbeloved President and Councell of our East India Company residing in the Indies."

[1] Used in the obsolete sense of having regard or respect to, as something to be dreaded and avoided.

Two replies to these communications, dated at Surat the 24th October 1636, reached Weddell at Goa on the 21st November. One was a private letter from President Methwold, and the other an official answer in the name of the Council. In the former Methwold wrote :—

" From the particuler respect which I professe to owe you, I addresse these lines to congratulate your safe arrivall in India. I cannot say wellcome because you bring ruine to the Hon: Company whom I serve. Yet I heartely wish you success because you are allready so farre engaged.

" The string which I nowe harpe uppon was the last which was left to the Companys bowe, which you have Cutt from them, I feare to your owne prejudice, since all advantage which may bee deduced from the East India trade is so proply and deservedly due to the Hon: Company, that it Cannot with successe be diverted unto any other until their Charter bee dissolved."

Methwold went on to hint that Captain Cobb's piratical acts were connived at by Courteen's agents who had abused his Majesty's favour. He enlarged on the " disconsolate praedicament " of the Company's factors at Surat and ended by congratulating Weddell's son Jeremy on his " double charge," that is, his employment by Courteen and his marriage to Captain Bushell's daughter (see p. 376).

The official letter from Surat expressed " great amazement " at the news of the Courteen venture, and surprise that Weddell and Mountney, who must have known by experience that the commerce of India " will not indure competition of the same nation," should lend themselves to such a scheme. The Council foretold a cold reception for Courteen's merchants at Goa and disappointment with regard to trade on the Malabar Coast and in China or Japan. They also hinted at the ingratitude of Weddell and his associates who had received favours from the Company.

To these letters Weddell replied with great heat. He assured Methwold that " wee are not taken with a few flashes and peremptory jeering menaces, nor ledde away with unnecessary verball complementall congratulations. But bee assured that if ever you attempt the least underhand

injury by your suppostitious trickes, though it never come to perfection (which indeed wee feare not) eyther you or yours shall answer it to no mercenary man. You doe mee wrong to taxe mee with cutting the Companeys stringe of trade . . . but every cocke will crowe, &c. For telling you that it is His Majesties action, I have told you little more then the contents of His Highness[e]s letter directed to so unworthy a subject as yourselfe, who, eyther out of contempt or want of good tutoring, have so much slighted it as that you take no notice of the receipt theireof. And for your instant answer out of your supposed good experience, I pray you reserve it warm to bee served in at the Councell table . . . it seemes you take priviledge (as you also alledge) out of your pretended misery to say aney thing. I must take the like out of my just vexation to advertize you that your suger heereafter bee as much as your gall in all your letters; else I shall never hold your phisicke to bee well tempred."

This fiery document, as might be imagined, severed all friendly relations between Weddell and the Company's servants in Surat. At the same time a reply, couched in somewhat milder language, was sent to the Council. It was signed by Weddell and Mountney, who conclude by saying that "soe farr will we be from giveinge you disturbance in your Trade, as that unlesse some extraordinary accident compell us, we will not touch in any of your ports."

In answer to Weddell's outburst, Methwold wrote, on the 28th December 1636, regretting that his letters "found not the faire construction which I expected from your knowne better disposition" and confessing that in mixing the "Phisicke" he "had no great reguard" to Weddell's "Pallatt." He concluded, "I am sorry wee mistooke one another." It is doubtful if this letter ever reached Weddell's hands, as he left Goa on the 17th January 1637.

The next document penned by Weddell that is preserved among the *India Office Records* differs greatly from his retort to Methwold. It is the "lettre Directed to Don Phillippe Mascarennas" which, as Mundy relates (p. 71), was sent to this officer at Bhatkal on the 23rd January 1637. In it Weddell cleverly disarms the suspicion of the Portuguese

official regarding his recent friendly interview with the commanders of the Dutch fleet, and makes it appear that his only object was to gain information for the Portuguese regarding the Dutch losses in the engagement of the 11th January, their naval strength and intended movements. He adds that the Dutch "have diverse tymes beene under your Admiralls sterne in seven fathomes, and have heard the tingling of your bells, and intend to woorke some stratageme upon her, if not prevented by some of your friggotts."

No trace has been found of any of Weddell's correspondence during the remainder of the year 1637, or in 1638, except the translations preserved in the *Lisbon Archives* and printed in *Relations* XXIV, XXV and XXVI. In February 1638 he parted company with Mundy, who was in the *Sun*, and sailed for the Malabar Coast, reaching Cochin on the 9th March. He then returned to Bhatkal, where he re-established the decaying factory. That accomplished, he sailed with the *Catherine*, accompanied by the two Mountneys, to Masulipatam in order to purchase piece-goods for the return voyage, to make up for the ground tackle lost in China. In spite of strict orders to the contrary, the Company's servants at Masulipatam received the interlopers favourably and even provided "a couple of English to adgitate their businesse." However, Weddell's attempt to avoid the payment of customs duties brought him into collision with the native authorities. Some of his men were captured and he retaliated by seizing certain junks bound for Bengal. Eventually the duties were paid and the men released. The Company's servants were much perturbed by Weddell's actions, which had brought the English into ill-odour with the local authorities, but Weddell pretended that he was the injured party and that he had been cheated by the Company's agents at Masulipatam: "What people the Companie hath there I shame to speake of." The *Dragon* and *Catherine* sailed from Masulipatam on the 21st September 1638, touched at Armagon on the 22nd and remained there until the 1st October, when they sailed for Bhatkal. On the 2nd a storm endangered both ships, but they reached their destination in safety on the 15th November. At Bhatkal they found the *Planter*, which brought

news of the *Sun* in St Augustine's Bay, and from her Weddell obtained supplies.

On the 26th November the *Dragon* and *Catherine* sailed to Cannanore to complete their preparations for the homeward voyage. Two letters dated from this place on the 26th January bearing the signatures of Weddell and John Mountney and one of the 27th signed also by Nathaniel Mountney are in existence. They refer to some captives in the East India Company's service who had been ransomed by Weddell for 2,200 reals of eight. Repayment was desired by two bills of exchange on the East India Company, payable to William Courteen and Co., and John Weddell, Nathaniel Mountney and Co.; the offer of bills on Surat or Goa was refused.

On the 29th January, while still aboard the *Dragon* at Cannanore, Weddell sent to President Fremlen at Surat an account of what had befallen him from the time he left the Downs on the 14th April 1636. This is the letter (*O.C.* 1662) which has been freely used to amplify Mundy's narrative.

One more letter under Weddell's signature is extant. It was apparently written just before he sailed for England, but it bears no date. It is addressed to the Portuguese Captain of Cochin and warns him that two of the East India Company's ships, which it was proposed to freight for China, were too old to undertake such a voyage.

The next mention of Weddell is in a letter of December 1639 from the Council at Surat to the Company, noting that he and Mountney have gone home. Neither the *Dragon* nor the *Catherine* ever reached England, and Mr Foster (*English Factories*, 1637—1641, p. xxiii), surmises that both vessels were wrecked in the storms of May and June 1639 which nearly overwhelmed the Company's ship *Mary*.

Weddell's biographer, however, says that Weddell "returned to England apparently in 1640, and in 1642, still as an interloper, was back in India, where he died." Professor Laughton gives no authority for these statements and I have failed to confirm them from any of the records that I have been able to consult. Mundy, who, as a member of Courteen's Association, would almost certainly have been

apprised of Weddell's return to England, has no mention of the fact. On the contrary, in his Notes to this volume, written in 1649 (see p. 427), he distinctly says that the two ships were never again heard of and were "therefore given for lost." He adds that the ships "were old" and had been "long outt" so that they were the more likely to be "cast away on the great and Dangerous shoalds and sands without St Lawrence." From these remarks it is evident that Mundy either did not know of or did not credit the report spread by Courteen and his associates that the Dutch were answerable for the loss of the vessels and the lives of their crews.

The mystery enshrouding the fate of Weddell and his companions and the hope of procuring compensation from the Dutch doubtless led William Courteen and his associates to welcome any story that threw discredit on their rivals in the East Indian Trade. The evidence that was collected to incriminate them is printed in a tract by J.D. (John Darell), published in 1665. This is entitled "A True and Compendious Narration (or Second Part of Amboyney)[1] of Sundry Notorious or Remarkable Injuries, Insolencies, and acts of Hostility which the Hollanders Have Exercised from time to time against The English Nation in the East-Indies, &c. And Particularly Of the totall Plundering and Sinking of the *Dragon* and *Katherine* Both Ships and Men. With Undeniable and Convincing Proofs for Evidencing the Truth thereof, and Satisfaction of the Reader."

The "Undeniable and Convincing Proofs" consist in a number of hearsay statements which are so contradictory that instead of giving "Satisfaction" to the reader, they leave him in grave doubt of their reliability. The earliest enquiry noted is in January 1641, when evidence was taken before William Courteen, Edward Knipe, Captain Robert Molton and other members of the Association. The following are samples of the depositions on this occasion:—"Robert Hogg tells of one which was at Plynmouth a Hollander, and was before at the sinking of Captain Weddall. . . . Captain

[1] That is, a continuation of the narrative of the massacre of English merchants, etc., at Ambovna by the Dutch in 1623.

Swanley tells of one James Burdett which had a Letter from India, which makes mention of the very same report by a slave which made escape from the Hollanders."

The ships were said to have been sunk off Malacca, off Ceylon, between Ceylon and Mauritius, and the Dutch fleet responsible for the outrage to have numbered variously seven and twelve ships.

In 1644 a coherent story of the tragedy was brought home from Malacca by three seamen who had found a Scotchman dying in hospital there. This man, so they said, had unburdened his mind of the crime in which he had been implicated. According to his version, Captain Weddell and the Mountneys had been invited on board a Dutch ship and feasted, together with Captain Carter of the *Catherine*. They were then brought on deck " and told they must into the Sea, whereupon more words past ; and they were bound back to back and thrown into the sea ; those of the *Dragon* and *Katherine* seeing the same, fitted themselves to fight, but were taken and their Ships Robbed, and then, with all the men remaining alive, bored and let sink in the Sea." The story goes on to say that " the rest of the common men was sent for the Moluccoes," but does not account for their existence after " all the men remaining alive " had been drowned.

The other " Undeniable and Convincing Proofs " which confirmed John Darell in his belief of the guilt of the Dutch are on a par with the above, and carry no conviction to the ordinary reader. Besides, as previously remarked, if absolute proof had been forthcoming of foul play on the part of the Dutch, it could hardly have escaped Mundy's knowledge. It therefore appears certain that the death of one of the bravest of the old sea captains must be ascribed to accident rather than design on the part of his enemies.

Letters of administration of Weddell's estate were granted to William Courteen, as principal creditor, in 1643, and later, on Courteen's death, in 1656, to Jeremy Weddell. Frances, widow of Captain John Weddell, died in 1652.

(See *O.C.* 1571, 1576, 1580, 1584, 1587 ; *English Factories*, 1634—1641 ; *Tract* No. 359, I.O. Library ; *P.C.C. Wills*, 165 *Bowyer ; Admons.*)

2. John and Nathaniel Mountney.

(*a*) John Mountney.

John, eldest son of Richard Mountney, "Citizen and Vintner of London" and "Husband" of the East India Company, is first mentioned in the records in December 1625, when he was "sworn one of the Company's officers" at a salary of £50 per annum. He had for two years previously assisted his father in the counting-house and was now entrusted with the "perfecting" of certain "books." Subsequently his duties embraced the care and maintenance of the Company's apprentices, inspection of goods, provisioning of ships, the clothing of "a black," etc., etc. He was, moreover, required to report on any case of alleged private trade and to "enter bonds" for the prosecution of suits in which the Company was concerned. Together with these multifarious tasks, he was expected to keep certain branches of the Company's accounts in order.

In April 1634 he fell into disgrace because the auditors complained of their inability to "perfect the accounts of the Second Joint Stock or particular voyages by reason John Mountney is behindhand for many years with his books." Whereupon the Court "blamed him much, but he alleged it was impossible for any one man to do more." The matter was enquired into and the overworked clerk's statement was found to be justified. He then petitioned for "favourable consideration of his extraordinary pains in making seven pairs of books for the several voyages," but his request was refused consideration until "all the accounts be made up."

In July Mountney reported that four books were balanced and another "perfected for stores outwards," and he was "ordered forthwith" to "dispatch the remainder as far as he can go." By November his accounts had been audited; "very fair vouchers" were found for "each parcel and nothing done but what becomes an honest, able man." There is, however, no record of any mark of appreciation of his services. On the contrary, when, in December 1635, the Court was effecting certain economies, his salary was reduced from £50 to £40 per annum.

As a natural consequence, John Mountney was easily persuaded to leave the East India Company's service and join Courteen's Association. But when, in March 1636, he announced his intention to the Court and applied for the balance of his salary, he was "reproached for ingratitude in leaving his accounts incomplete after being 12 years in the Company's service." He retorted that he was resigning because his salary did not cover his expenses, whereat the Court was "much displeased," and refused to pay the balance of wages due to him until all his accounts were delivered up "perfected." Whether Mountney fulfilled this condition or preferred to forgo the £9 13*s.* 4*d.* due to him does not appear.

He was given the post of Accountant by his new masters, and sailed with Courteen's fleet in the *Dragon* as related by Mundy. His duties did not bring him into prominence in 1636 either at Goa or at Bhatkal, but in China, in 1637, he played a leading part in the attempt to open trade with Canton. He sailed with Captain Weddell in the *Dragon* from Achin in 1638, was at Masulipatam in May, at Bhatkal in November, and is last heard of at Cannanore in January 1639, just before sailing for England, where he was never to arrive. He appears to have been unmarried.

In 1641, when all hope of the return of the *Dragon* had been abandoned, John Mountney's estate was administered by his brothers Cornelius and Richard.

(*b*) Nathaniel Mountney.

Nathaniel, the second of Richard Mountney's six sons, had had a more adventurous life than his elder brother John before they both joined Courteen's Association in 1636. How he managed to get to India in the first instance does not appear, but he must then have been a mere lad, for his return from Surat in the *Hope* is noted as early as 1616. Nine years later, in January 1625, "Nathaniel Mountney, son of the Company's husband, who had before been at Surat" was elected a factor "at £20 per annum for 2 years and £10 rising for 5 years more."

On his arrival in India for the second time, Mountney

was employed at Surat for two years and was then sent to take charge of the Company's factory at Ahmadābād, where he remained until the end of 1631. In 1629 his conduct was commended by President Wylde and his wages were augmented to £70 and £10 "rising." In December 1631 he was transferred to Surat to fill the post of Accountant, in that capacity ranking second in the Council. He would have returned to England in 1632, at the expiration of his seven years' agreement with the Company, but his services could not be spared as there had been many deaths among the officials at Surat owing to an epidemic. By the ships that made the homeward voyage he sent "tokens" to his "father, brothers, sisters, and other friends."

About this time, however, Nathaniel Mountney's name was entered in the Company's "Black Book" for two offences. The first was for being concerned with Thomas Joyce in a broil which ended in the death of a "Moore" (Muhammadan). The quarrel occurred as the two Englishmen were leaving the house of John Leachland (for whom see vol. II), "theire heads full fraught with wyne." The second misdemeanour was that of carrying on private trade in quicksilver, whereby he "did imbase" the price at Surat and Agra. His father was ordered to produce his son's letters, and witnesses were examined regarding Nathaniel Mountney's culpability in dealing in quicksilver and other prohibited goods.

Meanwhile, the accused factor was preparing to leave India, bringing home an excellent character. In the list of those intending to sail in the *Jonas* in December 1634, he is mentioned as "an able man, who hath or will have expired 10 years in your service and borne the brunt of these late miserable tymes, which can give you a better account of them and all other things answering your affairs then any man elce surviveing." Mountney had been detained by President Methwold to disentangle the accounts of the late Joseph Hopkinson, which were "much perplexed," and in this task, the President declared, he showed "more ability than his traducers could equal."

He sailed with Methwold in the *Jonas* (commanded by Captain John Weddell) to Goa, where he was one of the

signatories to the agreement with the Viceroy of Goa on the 10th January 1635. He then re-embarked in the same ship for England as Cape Merchant (supercargo).

In October 1635 Mountney was called to account by the Court of Committees concerning his private trade. He denied most of the charges brought against him, but acknowledged sending three bales of goods to Persia and making a large profit on them. He was desired to send in a written statement in reply to each count in order that the Court could form a decision on his case. He ignored this injunction and two months later begged to "receive an end" with the Company, "the delay unsettling him." He then admitted that he had kept no account of his private trade, but maintained that he had "faithfully discharged the Company's business." The Court was not satisfied and insisted on a written explanation. This was on the 11th December 1635 when Mountney must have already come to an arrangement with the Courteens, for his name appears in the Royal Commission granted to the Association, dated the following day (see Appendix A).

Instead of furnishing the required explanation, Mountney drew up a "remonstrance" which was delivered to the Company on the 27th January 1636. In this he desired the settlement of his business and a gratuity for "his good service during 10½ years." He was called before the Court and again interrogated concerning his own private trade and that of his associates. He declined to implicate others or to give any answers that were considered satisfactory. His case was consequently referred for private examination.

The result was recorded at a Court held on the 25th February 1636, when "consideration" was "had of the accusations against Nathaniel Mountney." Many of the charges were found not to have been proved, "but that he had offended in private trade was evident, and confessed by himself as the means whereby he made his money." On his agreeing to "submit to the censure of the Court," a debate took place as to the penalty to be imposed. After much discussion, it was decided to fine him 100 marks "for his private trade and all other offences." In this he acquiesced,

and on the 2nd March his bond was delivered up to be cancelled, and he finally severed his connection with the East India Company.

His experience of the methods of trade in India gave Nathaniel Mountney precedence in the Courteen venture over his elder brother John, but if the Portuguese authorities are to be credited (see Appendix E), Nathaniel's temper and manner militated against the success of the undertaking.

In 1638 he sailed in the *Dragon* from Achin, and in November of that year he paid a visit to Vīra Bhadra Nāyak at Ikkeri to treat about a further supply of pepper. With his brother and Captain John Weddell he sailed from India in the spring of 1639, and all three perished at sea.

Before starting for India with Courteen's fleet, Nathaniel Mountney had drawn up a testamentary document in the form of a letter to his father. This was dated at Tower Hill, London, on the 3rd April 1636. He left directions regarding the disposal of his business affairs and appointed his father executor. In February 1640 his death was presumed, and the will was proved by his brothers Cornelius and Richard, his father having died in 1637, as noted by Mundy (see *Relation* XXIX, p. 375).

The connection between the Mountney family and the East India Company was renewed later in the century by another Nathaniel and another John. In fact, the surname is found in the Company's records from 1612 (when Thomas Mountney of the *Hector* is mentioned) up to 1724, when a member of the family was living in Calcutta. (See *Letters Received*, vol. IV; *Calendar of State Papers, East Indies*, 1624—1634; *English Factories*, 1625—1641; *Home Series, Misc.*, vol. 29; *O.C.* 1543A; *P.C.C. Wills*, 98 *Goare; Admons.*)

3. Edward Knipe.

Edward Knipe's election as a factor in the East India Company's service, in 1630, Mundy's acquaintance with him in India, and his return to England in 1634 have already been noted in vol II (see p. 265 and p. 266 *n*). Since he plays an important part in the events of Mundy's third voyage to India in 1655, the information that has been collected

regarding his family history is reserved for a later volume, and the present remarks are only concerned with his early career and his connection with the Courteen Expedition.

On his election in October 1630, Edward Knipe was selected to go to Persia at a salary of £25 per annum, but when he arrived at Surat he was placed under Nathaniel Mountney who had just succeeded to the post of Accountant. In India he earned the commendation of his superiors for diligence and obedience, but he soon incurred the anger of the Court of Committees at home, to whom it was reported that Knipe and others " at their first arrival at Surat became immediately great private traders." At a Court held on the 18th September 1633 it was stated that he had been " exorbitant in private trade," and he was accordingly ordered home.

Meanwhile, he had done good service in the Company's factory at Ahmadābād and the news of his disgrace was received with regret at Surat. The Council deplored the Court's " displeasure against him," and suggested that it might " perhaps have been aggravated by false information." They expressed a hope that the next letters might " mitigate present orders," as they had intended to make Knipe Chief at Ahmadābād. They delayed seizing his estate since he was " engaged upon the general accounts " and his services could ill be spared. As, however, later letters confirmed the order for the disgraced factor's return, he was sent home in the *Jonas* in 1634—1635 with the following recommendation from the Council :—

" Edward Knip[e], a private trader, sent home with some favourable Constructione. Amongst the delinquents in respect of our better opinion wee are bould first to ranke Edward Knipe, who being falne under your Censure we will not rescue, but returne him unto you according to your Commaund. Hee may have erred in the generall abuse of Private trade, but what or how much we are totally ignorant of ; he protesteth only in a small parcell of sugar sent to Persia, and we cannot convince him, as farr be we from his justification in that particular, although we must needs say hee is otherwise an acting, able, sprightly young man, tractable and disposed

unto Imployment, such a man as we should have continued in Amadavad if occasion had so required, from whence we had the testimony of all the Merchants written in his favour. Hee was advised privately from Mesulapatam of your displeasure, and so had time to have remooved his papers if he had any that were offensive. He hath since that tyme much lamented your displeasure, Notwithstanding hee hath bene daily Conversant in the perfecting of your accompts, and hath amongst us so good an esteeme as to induce us to recommend him to your mercy, and if you please to a second Imployment."

On the homeward voyage, as noted in vol. II (p. 266 *n.*), Knipe added to his misdemeanours by being concerned with Hugh Cowley and John Robinson in the brutal punishment of one of the Company's apprentices who was unjustly accused of stealing a "parcel of musk" from their cabin. In September 1635 Knipe was summoned before the Court of Committees to answer for this offence and he and his colleagues were sentenced to pay the injured lad a sum of money as compensation.

Three months later, as all amounts due to him were stopped on account of his alleged private trade, Edward Knipe sent in a petition to the Court, who, in consideration of the letter from Surat and "for his own and his father's sake," overlooked his "error" and ordered his wages to be paid. But, as in the case of the Mountneys, the Court's action had been too long deferred, and Knipe had transferred his allegiance to the Courteens.

He sailed in the *Catherine*, as related by Mundy, and was left at Achin in May 1637 to carry on the newly settled factory there. He quickly came into collision with the representatives of the Dutch, and he and Andrew Carnwath, his assistant, lodged a protest against their agent for "dishonouring" the King of England and for "striving to bring them into discredit with the King of Achin, and hindering them by scandalous reports and contemptuous actions."

The Dutch completely failed in their endeavours, for when Courteen's merchants again visited Achin in February 1638, they found "our English here esteemed off by the King,"

especially the Chief of the factory, who "hath bin offten abroad with him on hunting off wild beasts." On the departure of the *Dragon* for the West Coast of India, Henry Glascock was left behind to assist Knipe, and there seemed every chance of a successful issue to the Courteen settlement at Achin. A year later, however, things had altered for the worse. The King, Iskandar Thāni, was actively opposed to the Portuguese, and the little body of English had incurred the suspicion of their host, since England and Portugal were outwardly at peace. In March 1639 Knipe wrote the following piteous letter to Andrew Cogan, the East India Company's Agent at Masulipatam :—

"Worshipfull and Worthy freinds

"Such is our estate at present as dare not make relation thereof, not knowing it may passe [into] the hands of those who by many circumstances have soe published their malignant spleene towards Us as makes us fearefull the laying Open thereof may redoune to our future Confusion. Those are they whome the Kinge of Achin is soe necessitated of at present as in a manner dares not but yeild to any their propositions.

"The substance of our request is this. Wee having to this king and in respect of our imployers estate, and our owne lives sake flattly denyd peace or any Correspondence with the Portugalls, that you would therefore, if being any liklihood of Conclusion of peace with them, that you would please to send the first shipp that shall arrive with you (which wee conceave may bee in July next) to fetch us off, which although it bee soe that our imployers be not yett United, yett can it [not] bee any way ill taken, in regard tending towards the resque of such estate and lives of Cristians, the king haveing proclaimed himselfe soe crewell to the Portugalls as vowes to Confound with fire and sword all those that Come under his hands that have any trade or Correspondence with them, which wee beseech you seriously to take into Consideration.

"Pepper 40 bahr [*bahar*], Cloves 4000 Ryalls 8/8 oweing us, besides about 5000 Ryalls 8/8 in goods unsuold, with the lives of 7 Cristians who Implores your assistance herein

by the secrett performance [of] which you will, among the rest you will perpetuate.

" Your obliged freind,

" EDWARD KNIPE.

" *Acheine, March 14th* 1638 [1639]."

This letter did not reach Cogan's hands until the 6th September 1639. He replied that he could neither assist nor advise the factors at Achin, as the only two vessels available at Masulipatam were undergoing repairs. Moreover, he urged, it would be dangerous to trust them " within the clutches of such a treatcherous kinge," who had threatened to destroy " all those which are frends with the Portugalls." He added that he had reason to believe that an amalgamation had been effected between the East India Company and Courteen's Association, " as twas in the year 1637 desired."

Whether Knipe ever received this communication, by what means he got away from Achin or whether any of the " 7 Cristians " accompanied him has not been ascertained. He is next heard of in England in January 1641 when he was present at an enquiry regarding the loss of the *Dragon* and the *Catherine*. Later in the year he became involved in litigation against his late employers, especially petitioning the House of Lords for " relief against William Courteene . . . who refuses to pay the salary to which petitioner is entitled and detains from him a parcel of cinnamon which is now worth here in England about 3500*l*."

In the following year, 1642, Edward Knipe was re-entertained in the East India Company's service. His experiences as factor, and later on as the leading spirit in a private voyage to India belong to the latter portion of Mundy's manuscript.

(See *Calendar of State Papers, East Indies*, 1630—1634; *English Factories*, 1630—1641; *Court Minutes*, ed. Sainsbury, 1637—1643; *O.C.*, 1543A, 1668; *Hist. MSS. Commn., 4th Rept., MSS. House of Lords Calendar*, p. 75.)

4. THOMAS ROBINSON.

Thomas Robinson was in the service of the East India Company as early as 1622, for in December of that year

his name appears as " Assistant at Jacatra [Batavia] " in a " List of Assistants in the Indies under the President of Batavia." There is no record of his election, but he is probably identical with the Thomas Robinson who petitioned for an advance of wages on the 20th February 1622.

In 1625 he was for a short time at Achin, and then returned to Batavia as Secretary under President Henry Hawley. In 1627 Robinson fell foul of his superiors and was removed from his post. Hawley wrote to the Company (18th July 1627) that " Secretary Robinson " and Henry Woolman had " burst out into a vaunting manner how they were revenged of such and such by letters written to your Worships So and So," until by " often reiterations and as many denials, notorious villany appeared." Hawley further declared that he had not rashly deprived the Company of Robinson's services, but he had found his actions to " be abominable " and his disposition " desperately addicted to evils and malicious slanders," thus exciting " party against party."

For these misdemeanours Robinson was sentenced to be detained a prisoner in India until orders respecting him could be received from the Company. For " incensing the rude multitude " he was kept in irons for five days and then put on board the *Christopher*.

Hawley, however, was compelled to admit the proficiency of the late Secretary in the " Portugal language " and he also commended him for " his scholarship and ready writing," but against these qualifications was the fact that " he was ever a gamester, an evil liver, prodigal, and contentious above measure; and his love of vices and idleness so grew on him that his books cried out for a whole year behind."

According to the President, the " broils " in which Robinson was implicated began by his attempting to induce Gabriel Hawley, Henry Hawley's nephew, to traduce his superiors. He then went on to accuse the President and certain members of the Council of defrauding the Company by carrying on private trade, of accepting bribes and of showing undue partiality. In consequence, Robinson's books were subjected to a strict examination, and as they were found to be " falsified,"

his wages were " cut off " until advice could be received from England.

From what appears later, it seems that Robinson was put on board the *Eagle*, commanded by Eustace Man, homeward bound in 1628. The ship was, however, driven back from the Cape to Madagascar and was eventually brought to Swally Road by Captain John Hall. The crew were in a " mutinous state, encouraged therein " by Thomas Robinson and Gabriel Kennicott, " both arch villaines." They accused their captain of a " heinous offence," and in consequence Eustace Man was arrested. Robinson further proceeded to attack President Richard Wylde and some of the Council at Surat.

On the 15th October 1628 a Consultation was held aboard the *Royal Mary*, at which he was summoned and examined, he having accused the President and Council of " taking bribes " from Eustace Man, " then on his trial, with other calumnious aspersions." Robinson persisted in his charges and increased his offence by his " insolent and unsufferable words of disrespect." He was therefore sent on board the *Star* and once again put in irons. After eight days of this treatment, he " submitted " and was released, and meanwhile Man was " cleared " from the charge against him.

In commenting on the affair in a letter of the 21st December 1628 to the Company, President Wylde stigmatised Robinson as " one of the most shameless and impudent rascals that live, and a traitor to the Company, although his information regarding some abuses to the southwards may have wrought a favourable opinion." This last remark implies that Hawley's aspersions on his late Secretary were not altogether credited. It seems, moreover, as if the Surat Council had a wholesome fear of both Robinson and Man, for they decided to send one home in the *Star* and the other in the *Hart* " to avoid conspiracy " between them.

On his return to England Robinson quickly reinstated himself in the Company's favour, and on the 9th March 1630 the Court wrote to Surat that the charges against Man had been examined and that it was Robinson who was found to have been " wronged." Moreover, no proceedings appear

to have taken place with regard to the charges from Batavia. On the contrary, Robinson was again chosen to serve the Company at a salary of £80 per annum and was sent out in the *Royal James* with the fleet that sailed in the spring of 1630, being specially empowered to take part in any debates regarding measures to be adopted against the Portuguese. He probably married before he started on this second voyage to India.

In October 1630 Robinson was again at Surat and in December at Cambay; shortly after he sailed to Bantam. In 1631 he was sent to Armagon (near Madras) where he remained until January 1632. On his return to Bantam he was appointed to the post of Second at Macassar, and there he remained until 1634, fulfilling his duties to the satisfaction of the Company. He arrived in England in the summer of 1635. In September he applied for, and was granted remission of freight on his goods, and £20 was paid him for two "Japan trunks," one of which was presented by the Company to Queen Henrietta Maria and the other to the Spanish Agent. In December 1635, the Court, "in regard of his former services," ordered his accounts to be cleared, his wages paid, and his bond cancelled.

Robinson lost no time in taking service with the Courteens, to whom his knowledge of the East and his experience of the way in which trade was conducted in the East India Company's factories were exceptionally valuable. The part he played in "Weddell's Expedition" and his death at Madagascar are related in Mundy's narrative. According to Andrew Cogan, who arrived at St Augustine's Bay in the *Discovery* on the 23rd July 1638, Robinson died from the effects of a blow on the chest by a piece of wood during the fierce gales which compelled the *Sun* to put back from the Cape to Madagascar.

Before leaving England for the third time, Robinson had made his will. He was then living in the parish of St Saviour's, Southwark, and he left a bequest to the poor of St Thomas's parish, Southwark. A further bequest of £40 to "poore aged Seamen" of King's Lynn points to

some special interest in that town, which may have been his birthplace. He left one son, Stephen, who was a minor in 1636. His will was proved by his widow, Anne Robinson, in December 1638.

(See *Calendar of State Papers, East Indies*, 1622—1634; *Court Minutes*, ed. Sainsbury, 1635—1639; *English Factories*, 1622—1641; *P.C.C. Wills*, 169 *Lee*.)

APPENDIX C.

DUTCH AND PORTUGUESE ACCOUNTS OF THE NAVAL ACTION OF 11TH JANUARY 1637.

1. Extract of a letter from Jacob Cooper to the Dutch Governor General, *dated Ship Utrecht, at anchor in the Bay of Goa, 4 February* 1637 *N.S.*

(*Hague Transcripts* (*Translations*), 1st series, vol. x, No. cccxlvi.)

When our fleet, consisting of 14 sail, had taken in ample provision of firewood, timber and ballast . . . we started on our expedition on the 2nd of September [1636] . . .

We entered the bay of Goa in the afternoon of November the 9th. We saw 14 vessels lying under the fort Aguada, *viz.* six galleons, one carrack of 900 tons, two pinnaces and five English vessels, also a large number of frigates impossible to count. These vessels had their guns directed towards us, so that we momentarily expected they would come out to meet us. We gave them many opportunities to do so, sometimes sending two of our vessels out to sea and coming close to their forts with the remaining five . . .

On January 21st [N.S.], an hour before daybreak, the enemy advanced towards us with six galleons, ten frigates and many rowing boats. They approached quite close to the *Hoff van Hollandt*, but we had time to give the signal to the fleet to cut her anchors and sail farther out to sea. We allowed the Portuguese to waste some powder before we showed ourselves ready for the fight. In the mean time four galleons had come quite close, one of which was soon disabled to such an extent that it had to be towed into port by a frigate. Neither the *Hoff van Hollandt* nor the *Veere*

could give us much assistance as the *Utrecht* was in their way. These two vessels attacked the Spanish Admiral [leading] ship, and with the help of the *S'Gravenhage* sent a great many shots through her rigging and lowered her pride. The *Flushing* had singled out for her match the Vice-Admiral's ship, but could not come near enough to do much harm.

In the mean time the wind had dropped and we could not advance upon the enemy until it had veered round again. But as soon as the wind gave us a chance, a signal was fired from the fort Aguada for the Portuguese vessels to retire into the harbour. The *Utrecht* chased the Vice-Admiral almost under the forts. We then returned to our former anchorage in seven fathoms of water.

This engagement took place a mile away from the forts, and the enemy had, moreover, the advantage of the wind. But had we been able to draw them further from the shore, one half of their ships would never have been seen in their harbour again.

The fight lasted from seven o'clock in the morning until about two o'clock in the afternoon. During that time the *Utrecht* fired her guns 295 times and the *Hoff van Hollandt* the same number. The *Veere* sent 60 shots into the Spanish Admiral; the *Flushing* fired 355 times, but was too far off to do much harm. The *S'Gravenhage* fired 190 times; the *Egmondt* 73 times and the *Zeepaardt* 60 times, all with good effect. The enemy sent cannon balls weighing 10, 20 and 30 pounds into our ship. We had neither dead nor wounded in our vessel, but our rigging was very much damaged; so was that of the *Hoff van Hollandt.* The other vessels were exceptionally fortunate in the little damage they sustained. In the whole fleet we had only six killed and 17 wounded, the latter but slightly. Among the dead was our respected Batavian, Benjamin van der Burch . . .

On the 27th of January [1637 N.S.] we again saw a great commotion under the fort of Aguada, and expected the enemy to come out once more. But we soon found that the English vessels lying in the harbour were making preparations for their voyage. The English Captain came on board and handed me the enclosed sealed letter from his Majesty of

England[1] which he requested me to open and to read. The Captain informed me that they had left the Downs on April the 27th of last year, that they had not stopped in Spain or Portugal on their way, but that about Mayotta [in the Comoros] they had met the Portuguese carrack which arrived in Goa three days before the English fleet *viz.*, on October 20th[2]. He also affirmed that . . . six of the Portuguese galleons had tried to run out of the harbour in pursuit of our vessels, but that they had been obliged to desist, the wind being against them. With regard to the late engagement, the English had seen with their own eyes over 70 wounded carried on shore. There had been much lamentation in the town. One of the galleons had more than 9 feet of water in her hold and would have sunk had she remained another half hour in the fray. The number of killed is kept very secret, but we know for a fact that in one vessel two padres, three Camorines[3] and 13 whites have been killed.

The Viceroy declares that he will force us to retire, even were it to cost him the whole of India, but we answer that time will show who are the masters of the sea . . .

2. Extract of a letter from Barent Pieterzoon at Surat to the Dutch Governor General and Council for India, *dated 7th May* 1637 *N.S.*

(*Hague Transcripts* (*Translations*), 1st series, vol X, No. cccxlv.)

Commandant Cooper will no doubt ere this have given you a verbal account of the two attacks made by the Portuguese on the Dutch fleet. The Portuguese boast in their letter to the English of the bravery they displayed. They allege that the battle lasted four days and that the

[1] See Appendix A, No. 6, for a copy of this letter.

[2] See *Relation* XXI. p. 32.

[3] Unless we read Canorines (=Canarins), the old Port. term for half-castes, the Dutch writer refers to Zamorin, the Port. corruption of the Malayālam title Sāmātiri (Sāmari), for the titular ruler of the Malabar Coast, itself a vernacular adaptation of the Sanskrit *sāmudri*, "related to the sea." But he means clearly the Zamorin's people, natives of the West Coast, a sense in which I have not seen the term used elsewhere.

Dutch vessels were so much damaged that they lost all heart and had to desist from pursuing them. But the Admiral of the galleons, Antonio Telles de Menezes, in a letter to the President, speaks very highly of Commandant Cooper and says that he did wonders of bravery with his three vessels, and that if the other four had done their duty, the Portuguese would no doubt have had the worst of it. We cannot ascertain the casualties of the Portuguese. They speak in their letters to the English of having lost in both engagements about 15 killed and but few wounded, but from a reliable source we hear that the killed were over 300 and that they were carried on shore by night and secretly buried. The Viceroy has forbidden the number of killed and wounded to be mentioned to any foreigner, and notices have been posted up to that effect in the town, threatening severe punishment to offenders . . .

In some of our former letters we mentioned the arrival of Captain Weddell of the New English Company at Goa . . .

Whilst Captain Weddell was lying with his vessels before Goa, the Viceroy would not allow him to communicate with the Portuguese vessels for fear of his carrying information to our fleet. For several reasons he delayed their departure. When he first arrived at Goa, Captain Weddell offered the Viceroy to help him with 50 of his Artillery against us, hoping that the offer would be refused[1], but as it was accepted, he had to withdraw it under some pretext or other. It is however, affirmed that many of Captain Weddell's men have deserted to the Portuguese and that they fought in the battles between the fleets. . . .

3. Extract of a letter from Jacob Cooper to the Directors of the Dutch East India Company, *dated 7th December 1637 N.S.*

(*Hague Transcripts* (*Translations*), 1st series, vol. x, No. cccxlii.)

Wee informed you in September 1636 . . . of our sailing in the Fleet of Defence to the Coast of India . . .

[1] See, however, a different story in the *Voyage of Weddell's Fleet*, quoted in *Relation* xxi. pp. 52—53.

The fleet anchored off Goa on the 9th November 1636 [N.S.]. The ships drew ten fathoms of water. Under the castles along the shore were anchored 6 galleons, one carrack and two pinnaces, a great number of frigates and five Engligh vessels. Our fleet consisted of seven ships :—the *Utrecht, S'Gravenhage, Egmondt, Vlissingen, Veere, Zeepaardt, Hoff van Hollandt, Klein Hollander, Voorburg* and *Klein Rotterdam*. We sailed up the bay as near to the castles as was safe, and arranged our ships in a crescent with a fair distance between each, so that the bay was entirely shut in and no vessels could enter or leave it. If the enemy decided to make an assault we should be obliged to retire further from their forts. We were also convinced that the enemy would not go to sleep but would prevent us from getting fresh water and provisions, the more so as the Viceroy began to realise that we meant to remain there for the whole summer, according to our instructions.

The *Egmondt* and *Klein Hollander* were told off to run along the north side of the bay and find a suitable place to take in a provision of fresh water. They discovered a small village where excellent water was obtainable, as well as other provisions, and fresh meat and fruit. The name of this little village is Wingurla and it belongs to the King of Visiapur [Bījāpur]. Our enemies therefore cannot interfere. The people seemed very friendly to us, and we managed through them to obtain information as to what was going on in Goa. The village is only six miles from that port, and the people, who are mostly dyers, have been the means of keeping our crews in such excellent health and enabling them to fight our valiant foes, who kept on boasting that they would drive us away, even though it should cost them the whole of India. We kept watch day and night as the enemy seemed fully prepared to attack us, and we remained at a sufficient distance from their fire, their own vessels being protected by their forts.

We now know for certain that the carrack which was expected from Portugal arrived in Goa on the 20th October. We arrived 20 days later, and that fat prize escaped us . . .

On December 31st [N.S.] we despatched the *Egmondt* and the *Voorburg* to Dabul with Mr Johann van Twist,

who was going on an embassy to the King of Visiapour to inform that king that we had blockaded the Bay of Goa, that our Governor General intended to keep the place besieged for several years and to induce the king to surround Goa from the land side, which would soon force the town to surrender to his Majesty. The King has sent the following answer. "The season is too far advanced to make it possible for me to collect this year a sufficient army of foot and horse, but if the Dutch fleet will return next year and inform me in good time, I shall have my men ready for the besieging of Goa by land." The King has sent a written order to all the authorites in the seaports to admit us and treat us kindly. He has written himself to our Governor General and expressed his hatred of the proud Portuguese.

The Spanish Armada was decked out gorgeously with flags and pennants on the 20th of January [1637 N.S.], and early in the morning of the 21st we heard a great commotion on board their vessels, as well as on the shore. The Rear Admiral on the *Hoff van Hollandt* signalled the activity of the enemy, and the ships were ordered to weigh their anchors and retire a little further from the forts, as the enemy's fleet was seen approaching.

We allowed the enemy to waste their powder for some time before we answered their challenges. Their fleet consisted of six galleons, ten frigates, three fireships and several other vessels. In a very short time two of the galleons were disabled. The Admiral's ship was in great danger from the *Hoff van Hollandt* and the *S'Gravenhage*. Unfortunately, her brave captain, Benjamin van der Burch was shot dead, and the command was then taken by Jacob Jacobs who lost his head and fled seaward.

The fighting continued for some time, till about midday the wind dropped, and no progress could be made. We allowed our men a short time of rest and then prepared, as soon as the wind freshened, to renew the attack, intending to rush on the enemy with all sails set. But the Viceroy on the shore, seeing our intention, gave the signal for the fleet to return under the forts. We pursued the Admiral's ship close to the shore, but through a mistake made by the

Flushing, we did not do much harm. Our vessel had heavily suffered and was greatly damaged. In this engagement the *Hoff van Hollandt* rendered the greatest services . . .

The enemy had a great number of killed and about 70 wounded. We lost 8 men and had only 15 wounded . . .

On the 27th of the same month we expected another attack, but we found that it was the English vessels desiring to leave the harbour. These represented to us that they had arrived straight from England without having touched at any port of Spain or Portugal. They showed us a letter from his Majesty their King[1], which was addressed to the Dutch Commander and which was forwarded to the Governor General. They told us that the Portuguese were preparing for another attack and that they were conveying all their available guns to the vessels. They said they intended to sail to Achin, from thence to Malacca, and then to Macao. They had six vessels when they came out, but one [the *Discovery*] became separated from the fleet and has never since been heard of. The name of their Admiral is Woddel [Weddell], the same who took Ormuz from the Portuguese with the help of the Persians. The English maintain that Captain Woddel has not spoken to the Viceroy during their stay at Goa.

We exchanged many civilities at parting, and we suggested that they should now find out everything about the position of the Portuguese, and by joining their forces with ours drive them from India, for England and the Netherlands should always be friends . . .

Batavia, 7th December 1637 [*N.S.*].

Extract of a letter from the Viceroy of India to the King of Spain, *dated 3rd March* 1637 *N.S.*

(*Lisbon Transcripts, Books of the Monsoons*, book 37, fol. 503, translation by Miss Leonora de Alberti.)

On the 12th and 15th of January I received advices from persons who had been aboard the enemy's ships that their

[1] See Appendix A., No. 6. In Weddell's letter of the 23rd January 1637 to Dom Filippe Mascarenhas (O.C. 1587) he says that Thomas Robinson translated the King's letter into Latin and the Dutch "Domine" (preacher) into Dutch.

forces were not so great as had been reported, nor the ships as strong as had been stated. Upon which, seeing the time they had been here, and how necessary it was for our credit that there should be no further delay, I decided, with the Commander-in-Chief, Antonio Telles, alone and with no other Councillor (because of the repugnance felt by all against sending out our galleons), to order fresh artillery and fresh munitions to be put into the vessels. And at the moment when I decided to send out the galleons, the enemy were one ship and a pinnace short, which had [both] gone to water, but which returned on the afternoon before the day appointed for the action.

Nevertheless, I decided, trusting in God's mercy and in the good will and courage manifested by the crews of the galleons, that the action must take place.

And thus they set out at daybreak on the 21st of January and went to encounter the enemy with seven galleons (which was all I had at the moment) from the fleet of Tristaõ da Silveira, and a few *manchuas* and other light vessels. But although they had orders to take the enemy at anchor, the latter were so vigilant that, upon the first movement of our ships, they weighed anchor and put to sea.

The galleons pursued and came up with them, and a fierce fight took place, in which Our Lord was pleased to give us great success, and during which we received great favours from Heaven at the instance of many Churchmen and devout persons, whom I had informed of this enterprise many days before the galleons set out, asking them to commend the good success of it to God. This they did with so much effect that our victory seemed miraculous, seeing it was achieved by four galleons only; for the other two . . . lost their bearings and remained at a distance from the enemy, who wrought what damage they could upon them. These two were the best vessels of the fleet after the Flagship, which latter and the other galleons fought with great determination. I will not enter into the details of the fight nor of the dead and wounded (which were very few), because I refer myself to the report . . . from the Commander-in-Chief . . . from which your Majesty will learn all further details.

APPENDIX D.

COURTEEN PAPERS, 1637.

1. Coppy of the General Lettere sent to the Company per the Shipp *Katharine* from Macao, le 19 of December anno 1637. (*MS. Rawl. A.* 299.)

Right worshipfull Our humble duties remembred

By our laste, beareinge date of the 5th Aprill and sent you per the shipp *Planter*[1], wee advized you of all such passadges worthie your knowledge as hath hapned unto us in the persecution of our voyadge untill that tyme, wherein wee likewise promised a lardge returne unto you by your shipp *Sunne*, intended to bee sent you from China, with such Comodities as those Parts would affoard and were moste vendible in Europe; but manie impediments interposinge have since hindred us from Complyeinge with that our resolution, soe that it wilbe impossible to dispeed her before our aryvall at Acheen, From whence you may (god willinge) expect her laden with such goods as have heere been procured, with an addition of what pepper &ca. that Coast Can produce.

And to that end wee have thought fitt to send your shipp *Catherine* away before[2], beinge laden with sugars &ca, as per invoyce will apeare, as well for your factors at Acheen at [as] to those likewise at Battacolla [Bhatkal], Intendinge to followe her with the reste of our fleet at furthest within 5 or 6 Dayes, and shall not doubte but (haveinge Cleered the *Sunne* of the Coaste of Sumatra) to accompanie her from India

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[1] The *Planter* left the fleet off Cape Comorin on the 6th April 1637 and sailed for England. See *Relation* XXIII. p. 113.

[2] On the 20th December 1637. See *Relation* XXVI. p. 292.

towards Europe. But not knowinge what interveniall[1] accidents may happen in the Interim, As likewise what Conveyance may proffer it selfe, wee thought fitt breefely to advise you of the state of your affayres, as likewise of such accidents as hath happened since the departure of the shipp *Planter*, Intreatinge your worshipp to bee referred for a more punctuall and ample relation to the advices intended you by your shipp *Sunne*, moste of us beinge but newly released from our imprisonment[2] and all busilie imployed in receiveinge and procuringe of goods and fittinge our shipps for our suddaine dispatch of this Coast.

The 6th Aprill [1637] haveinge dispeeded towards you your shipp *Planter*, wee steered for Malacca, where wee intended to touch, aswell to informe our selves Concerninge the difficulties that might happen in a passadg through the streights [of Singapore] as if possible to procure an experienct Pilott the better to avoyde them[3].

And in regard Acheen was held to bee a verie Convenient place, as well for Correspondence with China as India, Wee resolved (it beinge little or no hinderance) to touch there, and if wee found good usadge, then to leave some factors there, whoe might provide some quantities of pepper againste our returne. Wee aryved there the 21 [April][4] and were frendly entertayned ashoare by the newe Kinge, whoe (the better to allure merchants to his Porte) had relinquished the ancoradge money imposed formerlie by his predecessor, who beinge some monthes before deceased, did in the tyme of his sicknesse ordaine the nowe raigninge Prince his sonne in lawe (as haveinge married his daughter) his successor, desireinge his

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[1] Interfering, obstructive. There is no example of the use of this adjective in the *O.E.D.*, although the obsolete transitive verb, "intervene" and the nouns "intervenience" and "interveniency" are given.

[2] Nathaniel and John Mountney, and Thomas Robinson arrived at Macao, after their release from Canton, on the 28th November 1637. See *Relation* XXVI. p. 276.

[3] The pilot secured was, however, very inefficient. See *Relation* XXIV. p. 147.

[4] In *Relation* XXIII (pp. 116, 117), Mundy gives the dates of arrival at Achin and of the visit to the King as the 22nd and 23rd April.

owne sonne to bee slayne as haveinge hastened his death by poyson[1].

Thee 22th [April] wee visited the Kinge, whoe gave us verie gracious welcome, with proffer of all kind and frendlie entertaynement. It was therefore thought fitt to settle a factorie there and resolved on by Consultation that Mr Edward Knipe, Andrew Cornworth and Richard Bourne, accompanied with 2 attendants, should there reside untill our returne[2], as well to prevente the East India Companys pretences (they haveinge noe servants there then) as to receive pepper for such Iron, ordinance and Cloth as wee had sold the Kinge.

Wee stayed there untill the 2d May, and haveinge setled all thinges, sett sayle for Mallacca, where wee aryved the 23th ditto[3], receivinge verie kinde welcome from the Captain Generall and a large present of Beeves &ca. provisions for the refreshinge of our people[4].

* * * * *

The same daie the Portingalls fleete (beinge 6 in nomber) were out of porte and readie to sett saile for Japan. After 2 or 3 dayes intermission, the Cittie [of Macao] sent 2 of their principall men aboard to knowe our demaunds. Wee answered, nothinge but trade. They desired to have a liste of what wee had to sell and what wee would buy, which wee gave them. After perusall they tould us the Towne had not so much goods as would lad[e] the *Anne*, much lesse to lade 4 shippes, and in fine were advized by some Particular frends that they were resolved not to admitt of trade but to tire us out with delays, thereby to terrifie anie others for ever more Cominge to these Parts[6]. They likewise hired pettie Mandereens to Come to us as if sent from Canton with promises of trade if wee would

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[1] See *Relation* XXIII. p. 119.

[2] See *Relation* XXIII. p. 137.

[3] The 24th May 1637, according to Mundy's account. See *Relation* XXIV. p. 139.

[4] There is a wide omission here where a folio appears to have dropped out. The missing portion probably dealt with the navigation of the Straits of Singapore, the arrival at Macao and the survey of the Canton River by the Pinnace *Anne*.

[5] The 23rd July 1637. See *Relation* XXIV. p. 180.

[6] See Mundy's diary of the 27th July 1637, *Relation* XXIV. p. 181.

stay but 7 or 8 dayes, whilest thus being deluded on the one side by the Portingalls and on the other side by the Chineses, wee might be gone for some other place.

But perceivinge their base intents, wee resolved to trie what force might prevaile with the Chineses, whoe beinge a Cowardlie and treacherous nation might better and more easilie be Compelled to trade then intreated. And beinge incouradged by such as went upon the *Anne*[1], wee sailed up the river about [blank] leagues, encountringe in our way with manie of their men of warre, whoe still urged us not to proceed but to stay untill wee might have leave from Canton, with promise to procure us a free trade. Wee Answered that so soone as wee Could find a Convenient place to ancor in wee would, which wee also performed, beinge neere a platforme or Castle belongeinge to them and as then unfortified. They desired [blank] dayes respitt to advise their principalls at Canton of our demaunds, which wee gave them.

In the meane tyme they manned and fortefied the Castle with 45 small Ordinance which they mounted, with which they had played upon our barge (sent as well to espie what they did as to seek a Convenient wateringe place for our shippes) before the tyme limitted for Answere was expired. Perceivinge our barge to bee in some danger, wee weighed and Came something neerer them with our shipps, at whome they shott diverse tymes before wee would returne any[2].

But when wee had birthed our selves Conveniently, and sawe that the more wee suffred the more insolent they grewe, wee then begunne to play hottlie upon them, and after some 2 howres batterie, inforced them to abandon the place, which was as suddenlie Ceased on, but being held, in reguard of a hill that overtopped it, not defencible, wee toke away their ordinance, and setting fire on what was Combustable, lefte them bare walls as a testimonie of our Juste revenge.

Wee likewise tooke a Junke[3], and reservinge aboard her

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[1] For the venture of the *Anne* up the Canton River, see *Relation* XXIV. pp. 175—180.

[2] For Mundy's account of these proceedings and the ensuing fight with the Chinese, see *Relation* XXV. pp. 187—189, 196—200.

[3] On the 13th August 1637. See *Relation* XXV. p. 200.

Captain and a little Child, his sonne, put some of our men into her, intendinge to doe the lyke by all such as wee Could surprize, untill wee had fitted each shipp with one, whoe beinge floated and defended by our men and rowed by such China men as wee should take, might more nimbly pursue their Junkes, and more safelie venture over flatts and shoule water.

The tyme for Answere from Canton beinge out, wee resolved to goe up higher into the river, but were prevented by the aryvall of a boate with a white flagge, wherein was a pettie Mandereen[1] whoe formerly had been a linguist [interpreter] for the Portingalls and had been Christened, but for some bad debts made and manie knaveries Comitted, was forced to fly from Mocao, resuming his oulde religion. He tould us hee Came from the principall Mandereens of Canton to knowe our demaunde, which wee told him was a peaceable and quiett trade, and that wee desired nothinge but goods for our money. Hee replyed that the Custome for obteyning any requeste was by petition, to which end, if wee would send up 2 principall men, hee would frame one in our behalves, not doubtinge but wee should obteyne our desires.

It was therefore resolved to send Mr Thomas Robinson and Mr John Mountney with some present for the Cheefe Mandereens, who willingly adventured themselves [and] returned about 4 dayes after[2], bringing with them license for trade and libertie to settle on anie convenient place belowe the Castle, payinge for this present investment 10,000 Rs [*reals*] of 8, to be devided amongst the Mandereens, and if wee setled, then to pay as the Portingalls did, which is 30,000 yearly.

This beinge agreed on, it was resolved to send up Nathaniell Mountney, John Mountney and Thomas Robinson, accompanied with 2 attendants (for more the Mandereene would not Consent should goe) to beginne, and if possible to settle a trade, whoe accordinglie Carried up 22,000 Rs 8 and 2 small Chestes of Japan plate, whereof 10,000 for the Mandereens and the reste for imployment went alonge with the

[1] Pablo Noretti. See *Relation* xxv. p. 206.

[2] On the 19th August 1637. See *Relation* xxv. p. 209.

Mandereene[1], whoe seeminge Cautious [fearful] that wee should be seene, Caused us to keepe our selves Close untill our aryvall, and about midnight .brought us, Clothed in China habitt, into the suburbs of the Towne with all our monies and goods. Onely the 10,000 hee reserved, sendinge to Champaine [*Tsung-ping*] who is our Lord Admirall and had undertaken our protection, 6,000 Rs at the same instante.

Wee[2] were lodged in an upper Chamber and not permitted soe much as to looke out of our doores, much lesse either to see anie goods (saveinge the musters [samples] or the waight of them), being enforced wholie to relie upon the Care and honestie of such whome our Mandereene recomended unto us, with Condition that what goods proved not accordinge to his muster at delivery aboard the shipps was to bee returned, as likewise the waight to be made good by the propriators. Of this our frendes abord beinge advized, there were sent 1500 picoes [*pikul*] of greene ginger at 7½ Rs [*reals*] the pico, and the reste (save what for necessarie expences) imprested [advanced on account] for the same Comodity, proposing large quantities of sugar, both in reguard of its Cheapnesse heere and its sale in Europe and India to be most fitt for the bulke of our ladinge, and the rest to bee imployed in such silke stuffes as are moste vendible in India or Europe.

We therefore sent for further supply from the shipps of money and goods, which accordinglie was sent by our Mandereene and Mr Robinson, accompanied with Symon Gray[3]; but the Mandereene, pretendinge the house wee rested in not to be so Convenient for us, transported the money to another lodginge, leavinge Mr. Robinson &ca. in a Junke which brought up putchoake [*pachak*] and insence to sell.

But before this Could bee effected, Hoyto [*Hai-tao*] or Lord Chancellor, not Contented with the devision of the 10,000 Rs, Clapps both him and our hoste in prison; and wee fearinge the like, pretended [purposed] rather to dye with our

[1] On the 24th August 1637. See *Relation* XXV. p. 216.

[2] The use of the first person seems to show that this portion of the letter was written by Nathaniel or John Mountney.

[3] On the 7th and 8th September 1637. See *Relation* XXV. p. 227.

weapons in our handes then to bee so disgracefullie handled as the others were, threatninge likewise to sett all on fire and burne in the middest if they would not allowe us one whoe might provide us of necessary provisions, for they had debarred us both of food, attendance and fireinge but what wee made artificiallie by a burninge glasse and a little powder.

At laste, after 3 dayes, whether fearinge what dispaire might enforce us to, or rather what spoyle our shippes might doe them, they Consented that an old fellowe whoe spoke a little Portingall should provide such necessaries as wee wanted[1].

In the instant of the arivall of the sugar from Canton, aryved also 3 boates from Mocao with a letter and a protest from the Captain Generall and the Cittie for our goeinge up the river and interloping into there trade[2], requireinge us to departe thence, which being Answered and they dispatched, about 4 dayes after, the Portingalls with the Chineses fitted 7 Junkes with fireworkes, and on the 10th September fired 4 of them thwart the hawses of the *Catherine* and *Anne*, puttinge both them and the other shipps in great daunger. Yet by the providence of the Almighty all of them escaped, to the terrour of the Chinese and declaration of the great treacherie of the Portingalls whoe were accused by the Mandereens to be the sole plotters of this wicked attempt[3].

After some fewe dayes intermission, the Comaunders required the merchants and goods sent, but receivinge nothinge but delayes, resolved (seeinge fayre meanes would not prevayle) to trye what might bee procured by violence, burned therefore and tooke diverse of their Junkes, fired their villadges and used all arts of hostillity as against an open and publique Enemie. And hearing of more fireworkes a preparinge, and diverse rumors of a fleete of Chincheos daylie expected, it was thought fitt to gaine the sea, as well the better to defend themselves as to protest againste the Portingalls for attemptinge to fire them, and by their bribes to the Mandereene for detention of the merchants and goods at Canton.

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[1] See *Relation* XXVI. pp. 276—278, for a detailed account of these events.

[2] See *Relation* XXV. pp. 222—226, for the Protest and the reply.

[3] See *Relation* XXV. pp. 227—231, for Mundy's account of this incident and the events that followed it.

In the interim, those alofte at the Citty had some better usadge, and order was given by a decree from the Cheefe Mandereens that restitution should be made either[1] * *

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relations that you may Perceive with what difficulties wee struggle with, which wee suffer the more Cheerefully as not doubtinge but you will accept of our good endeavours.

Wee have shipped upon our 3 shipps, *videlicet* :—

12086 picoes [*pikul*] sugar : each pico being 130 pounds eng.
500 picoes sugar Candie
800 [picoes] greene ginger
30½ [picoes] loose gould, coste about 4333 Rs (*reals*) 8
24 Cases stuffes
100 picoes China rootes[2]
9600 peeces Campeach wood[3]
53 tubbes China ware
14 gold Chaynes
88 Chestes of Cloves

The 3 former Comodities have been much abused in their Carriadge[4] and a great Part Changed. The best wee have Chested for Europe ; the other wee have fardled[5], and intend to make sale of it at Acheene and the [West] Coast of India in exchange for pepper or other Comodities.

Wee have yett remayninge 80,000 Rs [*reals* of eight] undisposed of, all which, or what the tyme will Permitt us, we intend to investe in stuffes, gold, &cta. Comodities fitt for Europe and India.

We finde the Chineses willinge enough of themselves to trade, but that they are hindered by the Portingalls. Whoeso ever therefore shall endeavour a trade in these Partes must avoyde Cominge to Mocao, but either goe to the Northward

[1] Here is again a large omission, owing to the loss of the other half of the folio which caused the previous hiatus. The missing portion probably dealt with the events related by Mundy in *Relation* XXVI.

[2] See *Relation* XXV., note [5] on p. 212.

[3] Logwood from the port of Campeche (Campeachy) in Mexico, one of the three open ports during the rule of the Spaniards.

[4] Injured in their transport,

[5] Packed in bundles or bales.

or to the Southward, the whole Country beinge full of Convenient harbours.

The Portingalls reporte themselves to have made a badd voyadge this yeare for Japan, the place being soe overladen by the Dutch that they have lost 15 Per Cento of their principall; and if it Contineweth a yeare or 2 more soe, Mocao haveinge trade to noe other place, Cannot longe subsist. Wee were expected at Japan and a howse readie fitted for our entertaynement. If therefore a Convenient Capitall Could bee obteyned, wee need not doubt of good usadge.

The Pinnace *Anne* beinge often repayred, trimmed and Calked, was found verie leaky and alltogether unsufficient for anie designe. It was therefore thought fitt by the Councell, of all such as were then present[1], to sell her, which they did for 3500 Rs 8 [Spanish dollars].

If wee have omitted ought which is needfull to bee advized of, ours by the *Sunne* (which wee are Confident will Come to your hands before these lynes) shall more fullie satisfie you. For [the] present, therefore, wee comend both your worships and all your affayres to the protection of the Almightie, and with remembrance of our humble duties, take leave, allwayes remayninge

Your Worships servants to bee Comaunded

Aboard the shipp Dragon [No signatures]
the 19th December 1637.

2. Notes by Courteen's Factors on the prospects of trade in China, Achin and Bhatkal in 1637[2].

(*Public Record Office, C.O.* 77/6, No. 49.)

If you intend to prosecute what Wee have with soe much expence to you and hazard to ourselves begun, it wilbee

[1] The Mountneys and Thomas Robinson were still at Canton at the time the *Anne* was sold to the Spaniards. See note [4] on p. 272.

[2] There is no date to this document. In *Court Minutes*, ed. Sainsbury, p. 294, where it is calendared, it is tentatively assigned to March 1638. It seems, however, more probable that the notes on trade in the East form an appendix to the letter of December 1637, given above, and were drawn up at Macao and despatched by the *Catherine*. Had the document been penned as late as March 1638, some reference to the second visit of the fleet to Achin (in February) would be expected.

absolutely necessary to settle and to fortifie some Island, either by permission or by force, although the first will hardly bee effected without the later. The people [of China] are naturally ingenious, fearfull and cowardly, but very treacherous. Therefore, whosoever treateth with them, it must bee with his Sword in his hand, alwayes prepared against Fireworks[1], which wilbee their onely offensive Weapons.

There are great store of Islands about Macao, but all barren and not inhabited, Macao it selfe having nothing growing in it either to sustaine Man or Beast, but is beholding to the Chinese for all his Provisions, and therefore kept in such subjection as it is, as being easily to bee starved. Other Islands there are in the River, fruitfull enough, but being soe neare the Maine, It wilbee difficult to bee kept without consent of the Natives; besides, the Portugalls being soe neare a Neighbour will alwayes bee troublesome.

In our Opinion therefore, Aynon [Hainan] wilbee the fittest place, lying betweene Cocheenchina and China and neare to Camboia [Cambodia], very fertile and populous, and being but about 20 leagues long and 17 broad, may without any great difficulty bee both taken and defended. What pearle likewise China affordeth cometh from thence and are esteemed to bee of a very good and cleare water; soe plentifull it is of Graine, as it supplies not onely Macao but Canton it selfe with great quantities of Rice. A people carelesse and secure[2], void of all discipline and debarred from the use of all sorts of Weapons, not being permitted to have soe much as a Sword in their Houses, except some particular men enrolled for Souldiers, who may weare one[3].

In fine, his Majestie could never have soe fit an opportunity to make a Conquest, nor yet have more hopes of a gainfull Trade, for having once largely supplied the Country with Stocke, you need not send any Moneys, Japan returning

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[1] That is, fireships, Greek fire, and other similar appliances for offence on the water.

[2] Free from apprehension. Compare *Judges* XVIII. 7, "They dwelt carelesse . . . quiet and secure."

[3] These particulars were probably obtained from the "slender" pilot, or other Malays taken aboard at Malacca, for the fleet did not touch at Hainan.

nothing els for such Goods as are sent thither. The Cheifest are Silk and Stuffs from China, Quicksilver, Corralls pollished in Beads and branches, and some Cloth blankets and Redds[1] from Europe, and Hides and dying Wood from Syam.

From Europe to China, Amber in Lumps, the bigger the better price and according to its largnesse, sometimes valuing its weight in Silver ; Corrall pollished likewise in some reasonable quantity, pepper, Pouchuck [*pachak*] and Incense from India and Plate from Japan.

China affordeth large quantities of Sugar, Sugar Candy, Ginger, Muske, Porcelaines, Raw Silke and all sorts of Stuffs for England and India, and may, having sufficient Stock and a setled place, lade two small Shipps for Japan and 4 greate for India and Europe.

Achin Trade.

The Comodities to bee procured in this place, vendible on the Coast of Mallabar, are :—Tin, Camphire, Brimstone, Lignam aloes, Benjamyn, Dammar[2].

This place yeeldeth for the China Trade :—Pepper, Elephants Teeth, &c.

Achin will vent out of England :—Iron, Lead, Cloth, Corrall beades, Amber beades, Looking glasses, besides Allom, Sugar, China rootes, Porcelaine, China Stuffs and Gold Twist from China, and all sorts of Callicoes from India.

At Achin Wee have left three Merchants with some attendants[3], provided with a large Stocke of money and Goods, who have purchased a commodious piece of Ground, whereon is builded a faire house for our use, with convenient Warehouse roomes.

This Factory of Achin is very hopefull and beneficiall, and lyeth in the midway between our Factory of Baticala [Bhatkal] and of the Coast of China. Its a place yeelding proffit on China, India and Europe Commodities, which yeeldeth also commodities vendible on all three the said places.

[1] By " Redds " the writers mean " Scarlet," *i.e.*, English broadcloth.

[2] Benjamin, benzoin, incense from the resin of the *Styrax benzoin*. Dammer, Malayo-Javanese, *damar*, resins used for pitch.

[3] See *Relation* XXIII. p. 137.

Baticala [Bhatkal] Trade.

This place affordeth Callicoes for Achin, and Pepper for China. For Europe, Pepper, Gumlack, Cassia Fistula and all sorts of Callicoes.

There may bee spent out of England a good quantity of Lead, Clothes, Amber, Corrall.

Benefit of the China Trade.

This Trade being once setled, Wee shalbee able to bring home such quantit[y] of Sugars as will not onely supply England but the rest of Europe ; besides which, being brought to a perfection, wilbee worth more to his Majestie then Brazill was to the Kings of Portugall before the Hollanders disturbed them. It will likewise furnish Achin and India with Sugars, in which places it yeeldeth reasonable proffit.

Moreover, Wee may yearly procure a great quantity of Silke, Silke-Stuffs, Muske, China-ware or Porcelaine, Ginger, Sugar Candy, and Gold.

The Trade once setled, Wee may bee able to employ all the Shipping Wee are able to send, for the Country aboundeth with Merchants and Commodities and the Chineses themselves very willing to trade with Us, though hindered by the Portugalls indirect proceedings.

The China Coast beginneth from 28 degrees North Latitude and tendeth Northward, as much [as is] hitherto knowne, to 51 degrees, and is supposed to runne higher then 60 degrees, Soe that in the space of 460 leagues South and North, it containeth a number of good Harbours, Ports and Rivers.

If Wee continue the China Trade, it's probable that within few years Wee shall have the full knowledge of the North East and North West passages.

Benefit of the Achin Trade.

This Factory will not onely serve for a Rendezvous to our Shipping untill Wee have a fortified Island or fort on the Coast of China, but also for a refreshing place for all our Ships going and coming from China.

Besides, It will afford Us the most part of all the Pepper which the great Island of Sumatra yeeldeth, for the King of Achin being possessed of the most part of the Island, and also of severall Kingdomes on the Maine about Molucca, and very ill affected both to the Portugall and Dutch, will possesse us of the whole Trade of his Kingdomes.

It is a place very fit to entertaine a constant Trade on the Gulfe of Bengala, Pegu and all the Petty Kingdomes all along the Strayts of Malacca, which yeeld every one very rich and plenteous Trade.

Benefit of the Baticala Trade.

This place being once well fortified, Wee shalbee able to bring from thence and the Mallabar Coast thereabouts the most part of the Pepper which the Portugalls usually carry to Lisbonne, and from thence to Italy, Spaine, all Levant, and Germany, which places must then bee beholding to England for their Pepper, to the notable Increase of his Majesties Customes, besides the Commodity [convenience] of furnishing Achin and China with Commodities, Achin with Callicoes, and China with pepper and Incense, and the selling of China Wares and Achin Commodities.

A Question may arise: If these places bee soe beneficiall, why doe not the Dutch or Hollanders settle themselves there?

For answer: The Hollanders possesse very good places already, but noe better I am sure of. Very often they have made triall to settle on the China Coast to their losse, and indeed they had never that opportunity which led Us thither, I meane the Freindshipp of the Portugalls on the Mallabar Coast. They could never settle for want of peace with the Portugalls, and now they are more hated by the Natives there then by the Portugalls themselves.

At Achin they have now a Factory, but that King neglecteth their League and Freindshipp offered against the Portugalls, his quondam Enemies, and noe doubt that when Wee follow a close Trade in his Countrey, hee will give them leave to goe home.

The benefits of the China, Achin and Baticalla [trade]

are set downe now to shewe that its noe hurt to the East India Company.

The East India Company had never setled Factories in China nor Baticalla; they had at Achin, but many yeares since neglected and given over. The Goods and Commodities which Wee shall bring home will not glut their market, for what Wee cannot conveniently sell at home, Wee shall endeavour to Shipp out againe to supply Germany, Fraunce, Italy and Turky[1].

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[1] There is no evidence to show how the documents comprising this Appendix reached England. Since the *Catherine* was lost at sea, it is possible that her "General Lattere" was transferred to the *Planter* in November 1638 (see p. 450) and was brought home by that ship.

APPENDIX E.

TRANSLATIONS OF PORTUGUESE DOCUMENTS RELATING TO COURTEEN'S MERCHANTS IN CHINA, 1637—1638[1].

1. Letter from Domingos da Camara at Macao to the Viceroy at Goa, *dated 27th December* 1637 *N.S*[2].

(*Lisbon Transcripts, Books of the Monsoons*, Book 41, Vol. 191.)

Excellency

Four English ships arrived at this port, or within two miles of it, whereupon I dispatched several advice boats with orders to remain on the spot until I learned what ships they were. On receiving a report concerning this matter, I sent to enquire whence they came and their business here. To this they replied by a letter from the Commander of the vessels, and another from the King of England, the contents of which your Excellency may see from the documents reporting upon this matter, and also the reply I made to both letters[3]. After which, finding that they had weighed anchor, which could

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[1] The documents collected in this Appendix are taken from the same series of transcripts from the Lisbon Archives as those inserted in the text of *Relations* XXI. XXIV. XXV. and XXVI. The translations are also the work of Miss Leonora de Alberti. The two long letters of Domingos da Camara to the Viceroy of Goa and to King Charles I. of England are rambling and confused, in some places almost unintelligible. It has, however, been thought advisable to print them, since they form the only record in existence, of the attempt of Courteen's merchants to open a trade with China, told from a Portuguese standpoint.

[2] This letter, though dated three days before the one written to the King of England, is placed first because it gives some idea of the policy which dictated the actions of the Portuguese in respect to the English, and also because it is somewhat more candid in its statements than the wordy explanation furnished to Charles I.

[3] For translations of these four documents, see pp. 159—161, 165—167.

be perceived from the city, I caused a proclamation to be published, forbidding anyone to approach the ships without my permission; and I dispatched the aforesaid advice boats to mount guard, and to see that no one should communicate with those on board, with the exception of those who carried supplies, it being the opinion of the city and of the Senate that provisions should be furnished to them in return for money, they being friends. And the said city [of Macao] sent a handsome present and refreshments to them.

And as at this time certain Chinese wished to communicate with the newcomers, which the guards forbade, both they and the Chinese complained bitterly. We decided that we could not prevent the Chinese, this port being theirs, but we sent word to the English that the Chinese only came to deceive, and therefore warned them to be careful in their dealings or they would be deceived on all sides, which I assured them was the truth.

But as they had really come hither full of cupidity and for this very purpose (the whole business having originated from the ship *London*)[1], they came to an agreement with the Chinese to show them the port of Canton. And being furnished with two pilots[2], they took soundings of all these islands, and one of their pinnaces accompanied the pilots and went quite near to Canton.

Upon hearing this, I sent once again to warn them by means of a Father of the Society of Jesus and a Serjeant-Major[3] and other persons appointed by the City, for the matter was becoming serious, telling them to put no trust whatever in the Chinese, who would seek by some trick to get them all within their power, which we did not desire them to do.

Upon the return of the pinnace, after having surveyed the harbour, they set sail with their four vessels on the 4th of August [N.S.], having been in this vicinity for close on a

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[1] In 1635. See note [1] on p. 167.

[2] This does not tally with Weddell's story. See *Relation* XXIV. p. 176.

[3] According to Mundy and Weddell, it was not until the end of September 1637, after the imprisonment of the Mountneys and Robinson and the episode of the fireships, that Bartolomeo de Roboredo, the Jesuit Father, and the "Serjeant-major" (*i.e.*, a Major) were sent to treat with the English. See *Relation* XXVI. p. 246.

month, during which time we supplied them with such provisions as the place afforded. Nevertheless, they were much aggrieved that we did not trade with them, a thing they never openly requested, but only evasively. Moreover, they also intended to send some of their ships to Japan. As we always replied [to their questions about goods] that there was no other merchandize [available] than such as was sent them, they never asked for anything in particular, but only stated that they desired to settle a factory and to trade with the Chinese as we did ; and as we dissuaded them from this most prejudicial intention, they went on to Canton.

When the Mandarins saw them so near [the city], they sent to inform us, requesting that, together with some of their officials, we should send a protest, bidding them forthwith depart from Chinese waters, as the Emperor of China did not approve of their presence in his kingdom. [The Mandarins further] said that we should have to pay all damages, seeing that the English had come as our friends.

Whereupon we sent word to them, as your Excellency will see, and they received two married Portuguese[1] whom the City appointed to go to them, after the necessary councils had been held. These emissaries were received with great haughtiness, the English being armed and threatening to defend their position and continue this commerce with blood and sweat, as your Excellency may see by a letter written in Latin, saying that at some future time they would answer by another protest[2].

Now, as the Chinese are great thieves, some of them desired that the English should be allowed to trade as we do, but others declared that if the Emperor heard of it, as they [the royal officials] have cats' eyes they would all be punished. It was therefore desired that a chapa [*chhāp*] or order should be sent to the English, as your Excellency will see, by which they were commanded to put to sea forthwith and never return

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[1] By "married Portuguese," men of standing in the Senate appears to be meant.

[2] Domingos da Camara is referring to the letter of 7th September 1637 N.S. and the "Slighting Answer" returned to it. See *Relation* XXV. pp. 222—226.

hither, under penalty that, should they take even a blade of grass, not a shred of sail should be left to them[1].

By this your Excellency will understand what great traitors these Chinese are. They sent with this chapa an interpreter [2], such a one as themselves, a man who had been one of our Christians, a renegade who had fled from the city with large sums of money at the last fair. He read the chapa in a contrary sense, and he told the English that they might send as much money as they chose on shore in exchange for merchandize. And as the English had no one but the said interpreter to read the chapa and did not know what was in it, they imagined the interpretation was correct, and they decided to send 46,000 dollars on shore in charge of their chief factor, with five other men to help him and to consult as to the means of dealing with the Chinese, with the intention of taking the trade from us and disgusting the Chinese with us so that they should remain masters of the whole.

For this reason they presented two petitions against us, which the Chinese sent us[3]. In these, which the said interpreter translated into the Chinese language, the English said what your Excellency may see in the translations of these petitions. Moreover, when they had the money on shore, the factors sent word for the English ships to come further up (they being still four or five miles from Canton) to a convenient spot for the design they had in mind in summoning them. But the bottom being shallow, they began to understand and to fear that it was intended to set fire to them. And as we had not one Christian left in Canton to send news of anything, and the Chinese would not tell us of their designs (although they treated us as friends), I cannot say how many days later it was that they sent four or five fire ships, certain vessels similar to [illegible] upon them, and had they not been so alert, it is possible that not one would have escaped. But as they were warned, they got away before the fire reached them, though they felt its heat, which they say was terrible,

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[1] See the "Chapa" printed in *Relation* XXV. pp. 213—215.

[2] Pablo Noretti.

[3] See *Relation* XXV. p. 210, and *Relation* XXVI. p. 279, for these documents, dated (?) 18 August and 6 October 1637.

and that it lasted four or five hours. This filled them with such fear that they forthwith went and bombarded a kind of fortress close by and captured it with thirty to thirty-five small iron cannon. Upon hearing this, the Chinese came and demanded the fort and said that they would restore the Englishmen and all that they had taken.

Now, as the English were disillusioned and imagined that all [their misfortunes] were due to our machinations, they came and stationed themselves near certain islands five leagues hence, with the intention of lying in wait for the fleet from Japan, which had of necessity to pass that way; and from thence they sent us the protest which your Excellency will see[1]. To this I replied with gentleness and at the same time sent a letter by the Father of whom the letter speaks[2], who has rendered great service to the City in this matter and in all that I entrusted to him. I also sent with him the Serjeant-Major of this fortress, with whom the English are on friendly terms, to persuade them that it was a mistake to suppose that the Chinese needed anyone to incite them to deceit, for they were deceit itself. And so much did they [the Father and the Serjeant-Major] say upon this matter that the Commander [Captain Weddell] ceased to put the blame on us, though they [the English] never ceased to suspect us in spite of all that was said.

Whereupon they wrote the letter which your Excellency may see[3]. Before sending a reply, I summoned in Council all the persons mentioned, as your Excellency will see in the report. Upon which we determined to befriend them in the manner therein related[4], sending certain persons to Canton in company with some Mandarins who had come hither, to tell them in presence of the City and of myself what they required of them.

And we ordered the Commander to visit me on shore, which he did, and the City gave a dinner that day to him and

[1] Dated 27th September 1637. See *Relation* XXVI. pp. 242—245.

[2] Bartolomeo de Roboredo. See *Relation* XXVI. pp. 246—247, for his interview with the English and for Domingos da Camara's letter of 8th October 1637 N.S.

[3] Dated 29th September 1637. See *Relation* XXVI. pp. 247—248.

[4] See the document which follows. No. 2.

to the two or three persons who accompanied him, in order that after dinner they might hear what the mandarins had to say in the name of the Aitao [*Hai-tao*].

And it was proposed to them that if they came no more to their lands [of China], they [the Chinese] would restore their men and their property, for which purpose they should present a list of all they had there [at Canton], and then the Senate and myself would send four or five citizens with them [the Chinese envoys] to Canton so that the Englishmen and their money might be delivered up to them. Further, that the Commander should give a signed undertaking never to return to their lands as is set forth[1].

And the Father of the Society, who had great influence with the English in all things, persuaded them to leave this port and go to another, without saying anything about it, telling them that it would be more convenient to supply them with certain merchandise at a port below this harbour, to leeward, in order that we might frustrate their evil purpose of awaiting the fleet from Japan, which was the reason we permitted them secretly to buy certain articles of low value in the land, as is related in the report[2], until the said fleet had returned, which God has been pleased to bring safely to port.

The English took from here Sugar, ginger, timber and some pieces [? of cloth] to the value of 25,000 dollars, besides what the Chinese gave them on consideration of their not returning, which I think were the same commodities ; and they restored their factors. The city bought from them 3000 dollars [worth] of powder upon the news that a Dutch force intended to attack the place.

The Portuguese who had gone to Canton at the request of the English returned, having remained there forty days, and brought with them the aforesaid factors, and there came with them also two mandarins by order of the other mandarins who govern there, so that in the Senate House, in my presence, their property might be delivered to them (of which they had not been deprived by illicit sales), and also the six persons detained there. Further, that the said Englishmen should

[1] Dated 9th October 1637. See *Relation* XXVI. p. 264.

[2] See No. 2 which follows.

give a written undertaking to the City, signed by the Commander and chief officers of their fleet, never to return to the ports of the King of China, which undertaking should remain in possession of the Alderman. Also that the latter should give another document to the Mandarins pledging us, if the English should return (since we live in their country), to give assistance in punishing them. This your Excellency may see from the signed contracts between the different parties[1].

Truly, I found myself in great straits with these ships and these people, for on the one hand I had to obey the orders I had received from your Excellency on this matter, and on the other hand it was not expedient to break with them entirely. Therefore it was necessary to take such measures as were most conducive to His Majesty's service and the welfare of the city. At the same time I had to endure the arrogance with which they urged the fulfilment of their desire to establish a factory with the sanction of the Chinese. From what I can learn, they only came under cover of our friendship to win the favour of the Chinese and establish a trade in some part of these islands. However, we discovered their purpose, since they did not ask license of your Excellency to come here; and I understand they were waiting for a number of ships to carry out their purpose, but the business has not turned out to their satisfaction, and thus they will depart with their courage and their arrogance broken, seeing what the Chinese have done to them.

Your Excellency having weighed their evil designs and purposes, will decide as you think fit Nevertheless, I understand that they will persist and will inevitably return here. And perhaps it were better they should come with cargoes, since God is pleased that we should be unable to impede their designs. Your Excellency will take what measures you think expedient and most befitting His Majesty's service and the welfare of this City, seeing the importance of maintaining it.

My own opinion is that permission might be given them to come with two ships, either freighted over there or here, as the lesser evil, and they may take from hence with greater security artillery and other things from the King's stores,

[1] See the contract of (?) October 1637, *Relation* XXVI. p. 250.

upon condition that they protect us from the Dutch. And permission might be given them to expend 20,000 dollars (otherwise they will not care to come) upon condition that they pay duties on what they take. Because it is impossible for us as we are situated to forbid them anything, for the Chinese are so constituted that, even if they have to go under water, they will carry everything to them to any island where they [the English] may anchor, for their cupidity is their only law.

And your Excellency should give order while they are in this port, if they are to come, for a guard of certain boats to be set to prevent any traffic with the Chinese, to avoid any frauds and other crimes they might commit against us, for there is no worse or more treacherous people under the sun than these Chinese, who are without truth or law or faith; and many married men of this land hold this opinion. And thus I have made my declaration.

And if in this matter I have not served His Majesty and your Excellency as I might have done, because of the infinite vexations and labours, let another commander come, who perhaps may do worse, as anyone who has been here would admit.

Of the other matters which have caused me no less anxiety, I will advise your Excellency by other letters, now that Dom Sebastiao is so prosperous that he does not wish to be involved in these troubles or cannot compass them.

I prevented as far as I was able any persons or their goods from going on board the English ships, about which there were many opinions. In particular, I was unable to prevent certain Fathers from going in them. Proclamations threatening forfeiture of property were published, which accompany this, that your Excellency may see and decide therein as you think fit. Some opposed this measure, declaring that they could not be impeded, for this port is open and has many seminaries, and the proclamation, the tenor of which is here given, was all one could count on. I issued it because no one would ship anything in the galleon in which I came, or in the other from Malacca, and in the ships, though obeying your Excellency's orders, there were no bills of lading,

and they were never any means of profit to His Majesty's customs. And over there [Goa] it will be known who disobeyed the proclamation, as it is impossible for me to know here, as they are far away, and this people are disobedient, and if they wish to leave, they have no lack of means, and no one can prevent them. I asked the English Commander in writing many times, and he replied that so it should be done, but never gave me a written reply.

This is what happened in the matter and what I did, both in obedience to your Excellency's orders, and to avoid loss to His Majesty's customs, as everything must have been shipped in confusion without a bill of lading, and also because no one would send anything in the vessel in which I came or in the other from Malacca. In it the Administrator sends a sum of 300 copper pieces, and another of gold bars, as your Excellency will see, and the said vessels will carry the reports I have received from the Governor of Malacca. May God bring them in safety.

Because of the bad example given by Dom Gonzalo da Silveira who determined to sail in these ships, against my orders[1] (indeed I had sent to dissuade him from going), I understand that many persons are disobeying the proclamation which I published and the many warnings I had given the English Commander. Your Excellency will act in the matter as you think most expedient for the service of His Majesty and of your Excellency, seeing that on this account many goods will be smuggled and pay no duties, in which matter I adopted every measure of prevention possible. But in such a disobedient land no precaution is of any value, seeing that the inhabitants themselves are to blame for all that happened in connection with these ships, as in spite of all proclamations and excommunications, they went to the ships and made all things easy for them, and inspired them with confidence to oppose all orders.

Your Excellency should cause an enquiry to be instituted, and confiscate over there their property, both of those who went and of those who sent them, and I understand that the friars who accompanied them took not a little.

I will conclude by telling your Excellency that a large

[1] See *Relation* XXVII. p. 317.

number of these inhabitants here are very great traitors, false and disobedient; and that what chiefly compelled the said Dom Gonzalo to go in those ships was the fact that he was very ill and could not be cured here.

I had decided with certain citizens most zealous in His Majesty's service that a fleet of four pinnaces and two chos[1] should be formed, which, well armed, should go and encounter the Dutch; but as there is no unity in any matter, it came to nothing, although I did as much on my own part as was possible. The citizen who showed the greatest zeal and fervour in this matter was Antonio Rodrigues Cazalinho, who was to have been Commander, being a very fine soldier, as he had shown himself to be on many occasions, to whom your Excellency should give thanks for his loyalty, for I know that it cost him a good sum of cruzados to equip the crew, and also in other ways, all which came out of his own pocket.

I notified the English that all the merchandise belonging to residents of this city which had been smuggled on board should be declared in His Majesty's Custom Houses wherever they put in, and also such as they carried on their own account, upon which they were to pay duty in the same places, which notification they acknowledged. And though I told your Excellency before that they only brought here to the amount of 25,000 dollars, I understand that it was more than 50,000, for the devil himself could not keep pace with the people of this land, as all were concerned in smuggling merchandise to them. And this is not counting what was given them in Canton, which was as much again.

God preserve your Excellency many happy years &c.

Macau, 27th December 1637.

DOMINGOS DA CAMARA.

2. Copy of the decision arrived at [by the City of Macao] respecting the English, dated 10th October 1637 N.S.

(*Lisbon Transcripts, Books of the Monsoons*, Book 41, fol. 213.)

In Macau, 10th October one thousand six hundred and thirty seven, at the residence of the Captain General of this

[1] See *Relation* XXVI., note [1] on p. 255.

fort, Domingos da Camara de Nogueira [*sic* ? Noronha], in his presence and that of the Prelates of the Religious Orders, Councillors and other Deputies of the Senate, Aldermen, and other officials of the City, and other persons of the City.

The letter of the English was publicly read, containing a petition that they made to us[1], asking permission to treat with the Chinese for the ransom of their factors and liberty to buy any commodities that the country affords, in compensation for the great expenses of their voyage.

The whole matter being considered, and many future possibilities anticipated, it was resolved by all the undersigned members of the said Council that both their requests should be granted, since they were of little importance and would not be prejudicial either to our own merchants, [the commodities] being such things as sugar, porcelain, ginger and some pieces of stuffs (of the little that remained) wherewith to clothe themselves ; and this [to be done] secretly because of the Chinese ; and also more reasonably [? they had reason in asking] the favour of treating for the ransom of their factors. For, by refusing these simple requests, which they made with so much humility and submission, under the seal of friendship, we should give them cause to repudiate our friendship and hold us in great distrust, of which they had already shown signs at the beginning [of their stay] with much arrogance.

Moreoever, from a little failing of goodwill on our part, great evil might result to the City ; and they might attempt to seize one of the six vessels which have gone to Japan, and now expected back at any moment. This they could effectually accomplish, being at anchor close to the spot where our vessels will necessarily have to pass to put into port, this being the direct route and it being impossible to turn them from that course by any warning from the City, seeing it is at a distance of five miles. And they would undoubtedly accomplish their damnable purpose and evil intent, actuated by the great losses and damages they have sustained in Canton, where their design of taking the trade from us, in alliance with the Chinese, has been frustrated. For at the moment that they

[1] See the letter of 29 September 1637, *Relation* XXVI. pp. 247—248.

appeared to be masters of the situation and likely to carry on trade, of which they proudly boasted, the Chinese sent fireships upon them to burn their ships, by which they realised that there could be no understanding between them and the Chinese, and were disillusioned and abandoned the position they had taken up in the mouth of the river of Canton.

For which, and for all their losses and damages, the said English (in order to make out a better case for themselves) endeavoured to throw the blame upon this City, imputing the guilt to it, which it was far from deserving, seeing that the English were masters of the sea and that this port had no ships to come in force upon them to defend it, still less to take the offensive or to drive them from the coast, nor was there any hope of any assistance coming to it in good time from any quarter. For all of which reasons there seemed to be no doubt that they might at least seize one of the aforesaid ships to cover their losses.

All these just reasons and motives being considered, it was judged expedient (despite the most discourteous letters received from the English and read to the Council) to temporise with them, and secretly, because of the Chinese, to give them what they asked, which would cost us little, enhance the reputation of the City and be no discredit to us. As all the aforesaid persons were agreed, this undertaking was drawn up, to which all affixed their signatures.

It agrees with the original

Domingos Rodrigues de Figueiredo.

3. Brief reasons showing the great prejudice which would result from allowing the English to come to this City, dated 30th December 1637 N.S.

(*Lisbon Transcripts, Books of the Monsoons*, Book 41, fol. 231.)

If the English, under the Treaty of Peace, continue to come to Macau, and for the sake of expediency are allowed to carry on trade, however limited, this City and the whole of India will be exposed to great evils, such as the alteration in prices by the introduction of their silver, so that what today we buy for two [dollars], to-morrow we shall not procure

for four. And his Majesty's subjects who carry on trade here will not be able to send merchandise to India nor to us because of the scarcity, by which the Custom Houses of the said Sovereign will suffer heavy losses. Besides which, the residents here being compelled to buy commodities for Japan and Manila, even though dear, will gain nothing, but on the contrary be losers, as we experienced this year, though as yet there was no scarcity. Thus this commerce will fall into decay, and the residents become so impoverished as to be unable to maintain this City, because of the great expenses incurred with the Chinese, Japanese and others.

If commerce with us was assured to the English, India would be lost, and they would be lords of it. The reason of this is manifest ; for they would take thither the commodities which we used formerly to take, and now cannot because of the closing up of the Straits [of Malacca] by the Dutch. With these commodities the English would have entry into all the kingdoms of India, and be well received and maintain their footing, but we should be ill received and our friendship despised, since we should fail to supply the commodities which were their maintenance. This is what nowadays ennobles kingdoms and gains the goodwill even of enemies.

With the continued coming of the English to this City, since the Chinese have shown themselves propitious because of the entrance granted them by the Mandarins into Canton, we are confident that every time they come they will be allowed to trade, either through bribery or fear.

Nevertheless, as no decision has yet been received from the King on the matter, and as this people are evil, fickle and inconstant, they may change and again become distrustful and suspicious, which would be the total ruin of this City, as they would put all the blame on us, alleging that we were the cause of their coming, as they have already said.

Lastly, many other reasons might be adduced, and all should be seriously considered lest this land should perish, which will certainly occur unless his Majesty procures the necessary remedy, which is that they should not come hither. And as the trade with Japan is in a very perilous condition and in danger of ceasing, and that of Manila in a like condition,

and the relief of this people very necessary to the service of God and of his Majesty, may the said Sovereign turn eyes of mercy upon it, and may some other outlet be afforded for its commerce, upon the failure of Japan, whether it be Portugal, Peru or New Spain, whichever seems to him most fitting, that the City may not wholly perish.

Macau, 30th December 1637.

Domingos Dias Espinhel
Luiz Pais Pachecho
Matheus Ferreira de Provença
Antonio da Silveira Aranha
Estevaõ Pires
Francisco de Aranjo de Barros

4. Letter from the City of Macau to the King of England, dated 24th December 1637 N.S.

(*Lisbon Transcripts, Books of the Monsoons*, Book 41, fol. 220.)

Most powerful Lord, King of Great Britain.

On the 6th of July of the present year,[1] one thousand six hundred and thirty seven, four of your Majesty's ships, I should say your Royal Majesty, came to this port, the Commander being John Yuedell [Weddell], who remitted to us a letter from your Majesty as credentials, that we might know that he and the other Englishmen of the said ships were your faithful subjects, sent hither by your Majesty, requesting us to show them all possible favour.

We received the letter with the courtesy due to so great a King, engraving it in our memories and enshrining it in our hearts, as true friends who greatly value the friendship and peace which your Majesty now enjoys with the Catholic King of Spain, Philip IV, our master, whom we pray God ever to preserve for the welfare of both Crowns [Spain and Portugal].

We forthwith dispatched persons of standing in the city to visit the Commander and the other captains and factors,

[1] On the 27th June O.S., according to Mundy. See *Relation* xxiv. p. 158.

and to learn what they required from this country. They replied that they came here from your Majesty to open trade with us and the Chinese, in accordance with the peace concluded at Goa in January 1635, by the President of the English Company of Surat, in your Majesty's name on the one part and the Conde de Linhares, then Viceroy of India, on the other part, in the name of our Master. This peace [they stated] was approved by your Majesty and also by our King, though not yet confirmed, and that it was declared therein that the English might come to our ports to trade freely; amongst others, the ports of China being mentioned, alleging that thus freely they had bought and sold in Goa, Cochin and Malacca[1].

We sent to enquire whether they brought an order from the King or letter from his Excellency Pedro da Silva, the present Viceroy of India, for this was necessary, and we were doubtful whether the Viceroy would have given it. We replied at that time briefly to your Majesty's letter[2], as matters were pressing and the captains and merchants desired a speedy answer. We now reply more in detail, giving your Majesty information by this true report of all that has happened here.

What we now write we discussed many times with Commander John Guedel [Weddell] and his advisers, assuring them that we received them as friends with much affection, and that we would supply them with provisions and all things that they lacked, which in truth we did, making them a present of the products of this land, and treating them with all due courtesy. But as merchants we could not receive them, nor grant an entry to their ships into this river; still less could we allow them to establish a factory on land or accord to their merchants the liberties they alleged they had enjoyed in the other ports where they had anchored.

But this refusal was not from lack of goodwill on our part or from want of appreciation of the friendship and letter of

[1] There is some confusion in the text here, where the passage reads:—"amongst others the ports of China and Malacca being mentioned. We sent to enquire whether they brought an order, I should say, naming amongst others those of China, and alleging &c."

[2] See *Relation* XXIV. pp. 165—166.

your Majesty, but through necessity, for various reasons, namely :—

First. To avoid the trouble which would arise from this action with the Mandarins of China, as had happened on account of the ship *London*, which came here in the year 1635[1]. In spite of the fact that she came with an order from our Viceroy the Conde de Linhares, the Chinese forced from us on her account many thousand dollars at the Canton Fair[2], and threatened that they would expel us from Macau as traitors to the Emperor of China for bringing foreigners to his ports, contrary to the conditions they had imposed and we had accepted, promising not to do so. And more particularly because they [the newcomers] were men with blue eyes, which the Chinese believe bring ill-luck, and that if admitted, they will take their kingdom from them.

Moreover, if in addition to the boats we have here, we had allowed another ship as big as the *London* to enter this port (although the latter did not come right in), we should have broken another law we have to obey, which is that we shall not have many big vessels at Macau ; and we have never been able, in spite of all our efforts, to obtain permission to build even a tender here, or to bring one from elsewhere. This matter [of the *London*] cost us many thousands of dollars in payment of duties to the Emperor of China and compulsory fines to his Mandarins. We begged the English therefore to consider how much greater troubles the Mandarins would bring upon us, if we were to receive their four big ships full of men. And indeed they did renew the admonitions concerning the ship *London*, and the distrust in which we are held in these parts was revived. And Mandarins were sent to this city from Canton, bringing many complaints against us for having consented to the coming of the said ships, declaring that we had sent for them in order, with their help, to take the kingdom of China ; commanding us to compel them by force to leave these seas, and stating that we should be made to pay all the damages that

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[1] See note [1] on p. 167.

[2] The Portuguese were not permitted to trade in Canton except at the time of the annual fair.

the crews of the said ships might occasion in China, ordering one of their fleets to be stationed in this river to watch and prevent our boats from going with men or provisions to the English ships, still less to sell merchandise, and also to prevent the ships' boats from coming to the shore; compelling us to set some of our little vessels on guard for the same purpose. Of this last, the said English, without cause, complained bitterly, refusing to accept the reasons we had given them, namely, that we did this on account of the Chinese. In short, the Mandarins caused us more annoyance than we can express, and we do not relate it in detail to avoid troubling your Majesty.

Second. Because trade between the English and the Chinese would be the ruin of this city, and it is not right to deprive us of our trade under the cloak of friendship, for we have no fixed possessions here, but only the maritime trade with Japan, Manila and India, by which we live. And should the Chinese transfer this trade to the English, we have no other means of livelihood; for though the wealth of China may appear to you to be great, you may rest assured that it is very limited; and though it is sufficient for us, it would not suffice for your Majesty's subjects, and neither they nor we should reap any profit, because of the high prices the Chinese would demand, seeing their merchandise sought after by both our nations. And indeed they raised the prices this year for that very reason, and what we now buy at ten [dollars], we bought in past years for five. For which reason your people should desist from this claim and not seek to do us so much harm, for we are persuaded that in signing the treaty with our King, it was not your Majesty's will to compass our destruction (of this we are convinced), but rather for the preservation and wellbeing of the Portuguese nation in this Eastern zone, and in all the world. This purpose will not be attained, but the reverse, by the English, your Majesty's subjects, taking away our commerce by coming to trade with the Chinese and taking their wares to Japan, Manila, India and Europe, thus not only depriving us of merchandise here but of the voyages we are accustomed to make with this merchandise, without which we are totally ruined. And as for trade, we shall have no profit whatever,

for they, as well as ourselves, will be compelled to buy small quantities at dear rates and shall both be enforced to sell cheaply. Nevertheless, we gave them tacit permission to sell privately to the Portuguese for cash the cargoes that their ships brought, being wines and cloths which are of no use to the Chinese; and we did not want the latter to hear of the sales, for their doing so would be prejudicial to your Majesty's subjects and to us, and anchorage dues (which are very excessive) would have been asked of both nations for the English ships; and as the trade was not openly conducted, there was no occasion to pay them.

Third. That we are not here in a land conquered by us, as is the case in the other fortresses of India, where we are masters and where your Majesty's subjects were well received, but in the country of the Emperor of China, where we have not a span of land, I should say ground, with the exception of this city which, though it belongs to our King, the site thereof belongs to the Emperor of China. We are not here by his definite grant or favour, nor by any contract made with him, nor on account of any tribute we pay him for this place, but merely by his tacit permission; and we live here as best we can, temporising with his Ministers and subjects, and we subsist on such provisions as these Chinese bring to sell us day by day, having no others and no other means of obtaining any, save what they give us; and if, being annoyed with us, they should withhold them, we should perish. And we could not give admittance to your people or allow them to trade with the Chinese, as this depends on the Chinese and not on us; nor could we allow them to trade with us, as we depend so entirely on the Chinese, and they will neither admit foreigners to trade with them nor allow us to do so. Therefore your Majesty's subjects should not lay the blame on us, for they witnessed all this, in the same way as they saw, and observed, and were amazed at the subjection in which we live as regards this and more important matters, not because we fear the Chinese, but because we can of necessity do nothing, since we depend for our livelihood on their provisions and commerce.

Fourth. Two years ago some English subjects of your

Majesty came to this port with one ship only, and this year with four, at which the Chinese took alarm, fearing that in future years they will come here with many more to conquer them, as they cannot believe they only come here for trade. Had the English come with one ship only, the Chinese would not have made so much clamour, and we might have served them by freighting it with caution and keeping the business from being known to the Chinese. But it was impossible for us to supply secretly so many ships with cargoes, nor was there in the country sufficient merchandise of value, for as our ships had gone to Japan with nearly all the goods of this city, there did not remain sufficient for so great an undertaking; nor have the Chinese any surplus of their valuable commodities after supplying our wants; and they steal a large part of our supplies and sell to us such commodities as they please and at their own price. And every year the Chinese merchants hold back a great part of our money and we cannot recover it, nor demand justice of the Mandarins against them, nor recover the merchandise, though we demand it, nor can we take vengeance on them in any way; for if we did, it would cost us a heavier sum in fines, which would be forcibly exacted from us at the Canton Fair, where we go to do business, it being impossible for us to resist, as our money is in their hands and not in our own, and we are compelled to do business through them.

Fifth. Lastly, it was impossible for us to admit the English to this port, which is in a very different position to others we hold in India, and the matter is such [a delicate one] that it could not be settled either by them or by us, but only by your Majesty and the King our Lord. Therefore let the English report on the whole business to your Majesty, and we will report to the King our Master, stating the urgent reasons which on our part and on the part of the Chinese make it impossible to admit other nations to trade here. Thus, even the Spaniards who inhabit the country near by cannot carry on trade in this land, because of the harm it will do to us; and therefore it is not permitted to them. Nevertheless, should your Majesty and the King our Lord agree, and the King our Lord ordain by special treaty that the subjects of

your Majesty should be permitted to come to China, we will obey like obedient subjects, though we are confident that neither your Majesty nor our King and Lord would desire such a thing, seeing how detrimental it is to the whole state of India, and how it would imperil this fortress which these subjects have maintained so many years for the King of Spain, our Master. And we are absolutely certain they would not desire it, if with their own eyes they could witness the many difficulties which written words cannot clearly convey. But your Majesty's subjects who came here two years ago could, if they chose, give true information of what they saw, heard and experienced, and might confess that the Chinese are not men for them to deal with, as there is little honesty and no justice in their dealings, and that this trade is of no use to the English nation, nor are the English of a temperament to tolerate the Chinese, as the Portuguese of this place do from sheer necessity.

None of these reasons satisfied your Majesty's subjects, they believing and declaring that we did not admit them or trade with them because we did not choose, and that we had no respect for your Majesty's letter, which they considered sufficient to throw open the port to them without further order from our King or the Emperor of China.

And we confess that for your Majesty's royal signature we would, and we ought to do, much greater things if it lay with us alone; and while they were repairing their vessels and taking in provisions, which was about a month, we were considering whether, on our own account, or by means of the Chinese, some way could be found whereby the ships should not depart without doing some business, at least sufficient to make good their expenses here. And while we were holding various conferences on the matter, desiring to serve your Majesty and also pacify them and convince them that we were not to blame, they suspected us, and gave out that the whole trouble was caused by our procrastination and trickery and endeavoured, in spite of us, to make a settlement here, or close by, paying no heed to the reasons we again set forth in an official protest and requisition[1], desiring them with all

[1] Dated 7th September 1637 N.S. See *Relation* XXV. pp. 222--226.

courtesy, if they were our friends, to desist from doing us this injury and to weigh well the statement we had made.

To effect their purpose, they entered into negotiations with two petty Mandarins of this port, who have no power, asking them to come to the ships and speak with them, which they did various times, and by their advice they left here and proceeded to the mouth of the River of Canton, the Mandarins having promised that there they would be admitted to the same conditions of trade as our selves.[1] We warned them many times by persons of great authority and by most friendly letters not to do so, because these petty Mandarins could do nothing for them, and we further warned them not to trust the Chinese, as they would deceive them, being foreigners and novices in dealing with them, for they even cheated us every day, though we have been here more than eighty years, and have intermarried with women of their race, and have had dealings with them every day. We also warned them, since they were determined to go to the mouth of the river of Canton, never to leave their ships without a good number of men on board to watch, lest the Chinese, under the cloak of friendship, should by some treachery seize them, as they had seized two of our tenders a few years previously at different times and places. And we told them at any rate never to anchor at a spot where fireships could be set upon them, as had happened to the Dutch in Chincheo [Fuhkien] some years past, when three of their ships were burnt.

We advised them not to land at, or go to Canton, or at least, if they went, not to take with them a large sum of money or any goods, as the Chinese would seize them, and they would risk both their liberty and possibly their lives; and they would seize all their property, according to our experience of them.

We told them not to be led away by fair words and grand chapas [*chhāp*, licenses], which the Chinese would explain to them in their own way, for it is the custom of this people

[1] This is incorrect. The fleet proceeded to the mouth of the Canton River after the return of the *Anne* and before the receipt of the Protest noted above. See pp. 183—187.

to execute their evil designs under the cloak of benevolence, for under a cheerful countenance and friendly words they hide their damnable purpose, the which they carry out ; and they boast of thus affecting by trickery what they cannot accomplish by force.

To all this the English subjects of your Majesty paid no heed, believing it to be a trick of ours to prevent them from going [to Canton], which was all due to the haughtiness and ill will shown by the chief merchant, Nathaniel Mountney, who declared that he would carry this matter through to the end and proceed to Canton, even though he died there, if only to discover whether the difficulties we had made in admitting them to the cities of China were of our own making, of which he was persuaded. He declared that he wished to deal with the Chinese and not with us and that he would settle everything with them and not with us.

We finally assured the English that they might be certain that we would not attempt to prevail upon the Chinese to frustrate their designs of trade, for if they chose to admit them, they would not desist on our account, nor would they permit any trade if they did not choose, however much we might beg them to do so. We know for a certainty from the Chinese that they will not admit foreigners into their kingdom, nor do their laws allow it, and they tell us that they repent of having permitted us to enter.

And your Majesty may rest assured that were you to send ships here every year, you would never obtain from the Chinese a factory and permission to trade in their country, for their King will not allow it on any account, and his governors of this province cannot permit it without his order, or it would cost them their lives. Although they may verbally promise your Majesty's subjects that they will receive them into their country as they receive us, they only say it for the purpose of deceiving and of getting some silver dollars out of them.

Finally we told them that the Chinese designed by lies and trickery to disgust them with us so that we might not be friends ; and that they would tell them (as they did) that all their ills were due to us and that we had prevented

their trade; and we said that time would prove the truth of all these warnings, I mean that our warnings would be true prophecies.

In the mean time, the Procurator of this city presented a petition upon this matter to one of the Chinese Mandarins, that they might know that we were not the cause of the ships coming here, as they had said, which petition was very courteous, but the interpreter who translated it into the Chinese tongue added what he pleased to it, calling the English subjects of your Majesty by an insulting name, for which we were not to blame. This being a way these interpreters sometimes have of working evil to us. This petition the English took to show to your Majesty, saying it was from this city, the fact being that it was drawn up by the Procurator and signed by him alone and not by the other senators who are in office this year, it being customary for all to sign when a document is in the name of the city[1].

These true explanations the subjects of your Majesty rejected, but God punished them in Canton in connection with a similar petition which they presented against us, of which I will speak later.

Upon reaching the mouth of the river of Canton, the English forthwith began to negotiate with the Mandarins, asking them to allow them to trade and to come to Canton, where they requested that a house might be given them wherein to establish a factory, offering to pay considerable duties to the Emperor.

The Chinese, in order to deceive them, offered them every facility, promising them abundant trade. Meanwhile, they were secretly raising an army against them, so much so that the governor of the neighbouring province of Chincheo sent soldiers to Canton for its defence[2]. While they were dealing thus with your Majesty's subjects, they were causing us much

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[1] No copy of this Petition has been discovered either among the Lisbon Transcripts or English Records.

[2] This appears to be an exaggeration. There is no suggestion in Mundy's narrative that the expected fleet of "Chincheos" [Fuhkienese] was summoned to attack the English, though "Blacke Anthonio" hinted that, on its arrival, it might be employed against them. See *Relation* XXVI. p. 241.

annoyance by presenting chapas commanding us to force the ships to leave the river, just as though we intended to go and fight them.

Compelled thereto by these vexations, we sent the English vessels of your Majesty a letter of protest, requesting them with much courtesy, on the part of our King and of your Majesty, not to bring these troubles and vexations upon us, but to desist from their purpose, and we again desired them not to weary themselves uselessly by asking for trade and a factory (for the Chinese would never grant it), and not to put faith in their false promises, but to be vigilant, for we had received news (as in truth we had) that they intended by some trick to set fire to their ships[1].

The subjects of your Majesty received the Portuguese who took the letter with less than their usual courtesy, and they replied to the letter with great discourtesy and haughtiness, calling our Viceroys petty viceroys, and speaking of us contemptuously and not yielding to us in the matter, using Latin terms which in Portuguese are very insulting[2], and threatening us with war if we impeded their trade, which they said was already very profitable, whereas they had had little but vain promises from a Mandarin who wished to rob and eventually did rob them. These are expressions which the Portuguese are not in the habit of suffering, but on this occasion we disguised our feelings and replied by a very modest complaint, to which they answered, saying that when they wrote the letter they were angry with us[3].

The Portuguese, I should say the bearers of the said letter, saw on board the ships a Chinese Christian renegade, one Pablo Noretti, a great deceiver, who last year was an interpreter at the Canton Fair, and by whose means the Mandarins forcibly took from us 80,000 taels, and though he married

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[1] There was but one Protest delivered to the English at this time, namely that already noted, *ante* p. 508, and it contains no warning against fireships.

[2] See "The Slighting Answer," *Relation* XXV. p 226. Since only a Portuguese version of this document exists, there is no means of ascertaining what particular "Latin terms" were looked upon as insults by the Portuguese.

[3] There is no record of the "modest complaint" nor of the admission imputed to the English.

here, he was allowed to remain in Canton through fear of us, because of the evil he had done us. And the bearers of the letter, presuming that as Noretti had deceived us, so he would deceive the English subjects of your Majesty, told them who he was and what he had done, so that they might not trust such a man. Even to this most friendly advice the subjects of your Majesty paid no heed, but God soon after showed them the truth of it, for trusting in Noretti, he brought them from Canton a chapa from the Aitao [*Hai-tao*] in which it was said that they had been very insolent in coming to China, and the more so in bringing their ships to the river of Canton and that they should immediately depart and put out to the open sea and never return, as the Chinese would neither receive nor trade with them; and if they did not depart immediately, they should be compelled to do so by force of arms.

This chapa was interpreted falsely by Noretti[1], and he deceived the English by telling them that in it the Aitao gave them license to go to Canton and establish a factory and trade openly as we do. Upon which they immediately went there, taking much goods and money for commerce. The true translation of the chapa made by a trustworthy Father, very learned in the Chinese tongue, we gave to the subjects of your Majesty[2], that they might see how the Chinese, by means of Noretti, were deceiving them. This chapa and the said translation they ought to show to your Majesty, since many of them gave us to understand that the translation was not correct, thus showing that they put greater trust in the lies of Noretti than in the honesty of the reverend Father.

Trusting in this chapa and in Noretti, the merchants, Nathaniel and John Mountney and Thomas Ribeiro [Robinson], with two or three servants, went to Canton to establish a factory in the country, and they took with them many thousand dollars; and a few days later they sent to the ships for more and for much goods, amounting, with the dollars,

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[1] See *Relation* xxv. p. 260.

[2] See *Relation* xxv. pp. 213—215 and *Relation* xxvi. p. 260.

to 60,000 pieces of eight, according to their own confession. And in order to secure the trade, they promised to pay anchorage dues for the four ships to the amount of 10,000 dollars, though the ship *London*, big as she was, only paid when she came here 500 silver taels of ten reals a tael. But the merchants, in order to get the better of us, as they said, intended to trade here, even though at a great cost to your Majesty's Exchequer.

When the Chinese had got the said merchants in Canton, they took them prisoners with all their money and goods, refusing to give up either their persons or their property, no matter how often the Commander demanded the surrender of his men and their goods. The Chinese replied with fair words, saying yes, but never doing so.

Meanwhile, they sent five large fireships into the channel where the English ships lay at anchor to set fire to them, and they would have done so had not the English subjects of your Majesty quickly cut their cables and set sail. Whereupon the Commander determined to make war on the Chinese to punish them for their insolence and to see whether fear would induce them to give up his men and what they had seized from them in Canton. This he did, seizing a village close by and taking from it to the ships 45 mortars, but little else of value, as the inhabitants had all fled with their property.

Seeing this, the Chinese offered peace to the English, promising to deliver up the prisoners and their goods. The Commander, to satisfy them and to procure the release of his merchants and their property, made peace with them and restored the 45 mortars. But the Chinese, when they had these in their possession, mocked at him and gave up neither merchants nor goods. He was therefore compelled to punish them further by burning the said village and two others, seizing many boats, killing and capturing some men. But even so they would not surrender his men or his property. But a Mandarin from a neighbouring village of Lantao sent a message to tell him to proceed to Macau, where, through the medium of the Portuguese, his men and property would be delivered to him. Even this promise they did not fulfil,

but only thought to end the war which the ships were making upon them[1].

These facts will show that the warnings we gave your Majesty's subjects, as friends and experienced men, were true and not false as they believed and declared. However, because among the shouts of the men who sent the fireships upon them, they heard certain words in the Portuguese language and saw one or two negroes dressed in the Portuguese fashion, they suspected and gave out that we had ordered their ships to be set on fire and that there were Portuguese on board the vessels. But they know full well that among the Chinese there are certain negroes who have fled from us, who speak our language and wear our dress, and we brought this forward as proof of the truth of our statement that such was the case. Nevertheless, they would never credit us in this matter, but were confirmed in their suspicion because they said a savage Caffir [*kāfir*] whom they had taken prisoner with the Chinese had assured them it was so, and the Chinese in Canton had said the same. And they only believed the Chinese when they spoke against us, especially in this matter, and when they said that we had prevented them from trading, just as though we had never told them that the Chinese would bring false charges against us, begging them not to believe them, as time would prove them to be lies ; and so it has.

To disabuse their minds and in order that they might be certain that we had not caused the fireships to attack them, we sent to the ships a Father of the Society of Jesus [Bartolomeo de Roboredo], an acquaintance and friend of theirs, who affirmed on oath at various times, to convince them of the truth, that we had not caused the fireships to attack them nor knew anything about it. But even this was not sufficient for some of the English, especially Captain Davie Almeral [? Weddell, Admiral] and Richard Suende [Swanley], who did not cease to believe and to tell us that it was we who were the origin of the attempt to fire their

[1] This is a garbled statement. See Mundy's account of what took place between the 12th and 20th September 1637 (*Relation* XXVI. pp. 235—238).

ships. At which we were greatly scandalised, for it is not our custom to visit treachery upon our friends or to deal falsely with those that trust us.

The said Father also assured them that we had not sent any Portuguese to Canton to arrest their factors and seize their goods, as they, on the word of the Chinese, asserted that we had done, giving out that a worthy citizen of this town who is [also] a Mandarin of China, by name Francisco Carvalho Aranho, had gone there, which is not the case, for neither he nor any other Portuguese went during that time to Canton. On the contrary, several of them, being prepared to go to do business with those people, we would not permit them, in order that we might not give the English subjects of your Majesty any occasion for suspicion with regard to the question of trade or of their prisoners and their goods. But even this precaution did not prevent them from saying and believing that we had done so, although they knew to the contrary.

Because of the evil opinion which the English subjects of Your Majesty had of us, our feelings and desire to serve them in this country on this present occasion very much cooled; and the war which they made upon the Chinese caused the latter to hold the English nation in such odium that your Majesty's subjects need not attempt to come here in the future. Besides which it is an inviolable law of China never to trade with any people who have once made war upon them; and because the Japanese were once at war with them in ancient times, for this reason alone they will not trade with them, even though they are such near neighbours and have an abundance of silver, or metal, which the Chinese seemingly adore as though it were an idol. Thus, as the Japanese have never succeeded in inducing them to forget this very ancient feud, nor to make peace and trade with them, neither will the subjects of your Majesty induce the subjects of the King of China to forget the war of this year, which is very fresh in their memory, and which so shocked and frightened them that they declare that the English are a very savage people, and that they will not hold intercourse with such a people nor even see them.

The Commander, finding that in the mouth of the river of Canton he could do nothing, nor by force of arms liberate his prisoners or recover his property, trusting in the promise of the aforesaid Mandarin of Lantao, came and anchored a few leagues from this port, where we sent to visit him and offer our sympathy with his misfortunes, and again, as good friends, renewed our offer of serving him in any way we could[1].

He sent a letter[2] asking us whether we would help him in his troubles in two ways. Firstly, by negotiating for the release of his merchants from Canton and the recovery of his dollars and merchandise, either the latter itself or its value in any goods the Chinese chose to give him, or at least the restoration of his men, even though they would not restore the money and goods, for he would be satisfied with his men only. And this request he urged on us many times with great earnestness, for he could not bring the matter to a successful conclusion save by our mediation.

Secondly, that seeing they had come hither blindly, without license from our King or our Viceroy, not knowing the conditions of the country (which could not now be remedied), whether, putting aside the commercial reasons we had brought forward, we would supply them as friends with any goods we thought fit, of those available in the country, at the usual price and in the best way we could (having regard to the Chinese), either by allowing merchants to come to the ships to sell their wares or by permitting the English subjects of your Majesty to come on shore and buy. That our King would not consider this an ill service, seeing that the voyage, which was your Majesty's, would be a dead loss, for the expenses of it had been very great. That he would know how to impress upon your Majesty the value of this service, and would place all our explanations before you and state what manner of places Macau and [the country of] China

[1] These statements are entirely at variance with Mundy's account (see pp. 236—237), for the Mandarin of Lantao was reported to be one of those "combyned against" the English. Further, there is no note of any friendly overture on the part of the Portuguese until after their receipt of the Protest of the 27th September 1637.

[2] Dated 29th September 1637. See pp. 247—248.

are, so that no other ships might come here in this way to bring trouble upon us.

We held a council[1] to confer upon these petitions. As to the first we decided to send to Canton (as we did send) five Portuguese of the highest in the city, as to standing, years and authority, at our own cost; and in the fifty days they were there their expenses amounted to several thousand dollars. These persons we sent not on any business of our own, but solely to procure the restoration of the English factors, servants, money and goods, or at least the men, if the Chinese would not restore the dollars and property.

And these five Portuguese put themselves to much inconvenience, both as regards their own comfort and the management of their households, on purpose to go and liberate the English subjects of your Majesty, which they would not have done for their own interests, for they are not men who trouble any longer about journeys to Canton, being of advanced years and of great authority.

As to the second petition, as the ships were your Majesty's and were not owned by the English India Company, and their capital was part of the Royal Exchequer, and since they were actually here, we decided to grant them permission to dispose of the cargoes they carried and to buy whatever wares were available in the country, though at the moment there was little and of little value. And we gave them the choice as to whether the sales should take place on board their ships, in which case our merchants would go to them, or whether their factors would come on shore to the house of a Portuguese merchant of standing, very intelligent in his business, an upright man, who would tell them what merchandise was valuable and the price asked for it amongst us, so that they might not buy bad wares at a high price. But in this case they must buy from the Portuguese only, and as speedily as possible, only three persons over and above the rowers of the launches coming to land every morning and remaining all day in the said house, not leaving it to walk about the City; and that thither everything would be sent

[1] See Document No. 2 of this Appendix.

to be sold, and at night they must return to the ships to sleep. This could easily be done, for the said house was situated on the shore, conveniently placed for embarking and disembarking. We declared that these precautions were to be taken on account of the Chinese and not on our own account, so that they might not deceive them and still less molest us. And if they did not wish to accept these conditions which we laid down, we would send to them certain Portuguese merchants of credit and integrity with whom to lay out their capital.

They chose to come on shore, promising to keep all the conditions laid down by us, but none of them ever did so, in spite of all our warnings and all the orders given them by the Captain General on this matter. On the contrary, they grew very angry when told not to leave the house, to come on shore in small numbers, and to go back to the ships to sleep, not to buy from the Chinese tricksters, to buy expeditiously, and not to waste time uselessly on shore. And they were the cause of fresh trouble between ourselves and the Chinese, who declared that we had given them open trade, that the Mandarins would resent this greatly and the Emperor much more so, threatening we should pay for it, saying that now we could not escape paying anchorage dues for the ships, which they call measurement dues, with a thousand other vexations, which in our business we are not in the habit of suffering.

However, what we felt most in this matter was the distrust of the factors, who believed that we were deceiving them as the Chinese did, and did not even trust the master of the house where they resided; and it was enough for us to say that a certain article was worth two dollars in this country for them to think we lied and that it was worth only one. In this they were ill-advised, for had they trusted us, they would have done a better trade. Nor did we consider them to be good merchants, for they could not tell the difference between good commodities and bad, and they expected the former for the price of the latter, and they only bought the cheapest and worst commodities, and they have taken those upon which they will certainly lose, especially sweat

ginger, whereas they might have had the best, had they believed us and followed our friendly advice.

While we were settling the details of this trade, the Commander [Captain Weddell] sent a letter asking permission to come on shore to conclude the business[1], and our Senate of the Island [of Macao] agreed to receive him with the courtesy and attention due to him. It so happened also that the Taquexi[2], who is governor of seaports among the Chinese, sent us a chapa commanding us to summon the Commander on shore in order to negotiate with him and with us for the surrender (which the Aitao desired to make) of the prisoners who were then in Canton; so that we might then command the English to depart from these seas and see that they never returned.

We sent a message bidding him to make ready to come, saying we would send persons of standing to accompany him. The members of his Council did not wish him to come unless we sent hostages, which they demanded as though we were enemies. This gave us great offence and even aroused our suspicions, for those who did not trust us and looked upon us as enemies were seemingly no friends of ours, nor could we trust them. However, we took no notice of this insult and sent persons of authority to escort the Commander and to complain to his Council of the little confidence they had shown in us; but we did not send hostages, for your Majesty will understand that such a request was not reasonable.

The Commander came against the will of his Council[3], who declared that we should kill him and that he would never return to his ships. Captain Suanle [Swanley] in particular held this opinion of us. We did not kill him, but received and welcomed him and sent him back to his ships with so much love, kindness and honour that he was astonished, and his people were perplexed at what was told them about his visit on shore. And his coming was so effective that the

[1] This is obviously incorrect, since Weddell refused to go on shore in person until compelled. See *Relation* XXVI. pp. 250, 254.

[2] *Tai-ke-sz.* See note on p. 256.

[3] See *Relation* XXVI. p. 254.

questions of trade and of the liberation of his factors were settled to his satisfaction, because in his presence and in presence of ourselves and of the Taquexi, the departure of the five Portuguese for Canton was concluded, and we then conceded to him permission to buy and sell on this occasion only, on condition that they never returned here. The Commander gave the Taquexi a written undertaking to this effect[1], a copy of which he should show to your Majesty.

One of the chief reasons why the Commander preferred the buying and selling to take place on shore rather than on board ship was the fear that many persons would go down to the ships and much time would be wasted in the customary courtesies of drinking healths, which would interfere with business. To avoid this inconvenience, which he assured us was great, we asked the Reverend Father, Governor of this Bishopric, to issue a decree of excommunication against anyone who went to the ships without his license, in order that the Chinese, seeing only a few Portuguese going to the ships, would not have occasion to believe that we were admitting the English subjects of your Majesty to intercourse with us and would not harass us with their complaints. But this excommunication greatly scandalised the English, though seeing how we were situated with respect to the Chinese, they should not have been surprised, especially as it was issued in their service. The Reverend Father Governor upon hearing of this [their vexation] raised the excommunication; but he had never refused license to those who had asked permission to go.

Whilst we were settling this matter in Macau, our five Portuguese were negotiating in Canton for the restoration of the prisoners and their property, which having accomplished, they brought them to this city with the boats and merchandise which the Chinese had given them in compensation for the money and goods taken from them, and very little remained owing, as the factors themselves admitted. This business was the cause of much annoyance with the Aitao

[1] See Weddell's undertaking of the 9th October 1637, *Relation* XXVI. p. 264.

and Mandarins, and of much risk to our credit and commerce ; and your Majesty may be assured that your subjects would never have been released from Canton either by force, skill or bribes, had we not sent to fetch them, which the Chinese admit. For we have had experience of this, since several Portuguese have died in the gaol of Canton, and we have there at this moment a half-caste whose release we cannot obtain even for his weight in silver.

Nevertheless, these men had not committed the great crimes your Majesty's subjects had committed, burning villages and boats, killing and capturing Chinese, and above all, entering the kingdom and ports of China with men-of-war and armed men, a thing never permitted and never done by us. Nor are we allowed to take a single musket to Canton when we go there, nor may we go to trade there without express license annually given to us by the Mandarins. But your merchants went there against their orders, though they were deceived by Noretti.

And the factors know full well that all this is true, though they may not admit it ; but it is certain that they never for a moment expected to be free again, nor did the men in the ships ever expect to see them any more ; and the Chinese openly proclaimed that they should never leave the prison, and we also feared that they would not do so. Yet withal, the Almighty and the skilfulness of the Portuguese who went thither helped us to set them at liberty, and not only that, but we likewise recovered the value of their property, which was more difficult, because of the natural cupidity of the Chinese, who never let any silver that they have once got hold of slip through their fingers. And this is so notorious that neither we nor the English subjects of your Majesty ever believed they would yield up the property or its value. On the contrary, they told us that they no longer hoped to see their property, and therefore we might negotiate for the release of their men only. But we recovered all, not at the cost of money, nor at any expense to your Majesty's Exchequer, all which is considered a miracle never seen before in this country, nor has it ever before happened among the Chinese, nor should we have believed it possible, had we not

seen it with our own eyes. So also said the Commander of the ships when he saw his men and property restored[1].

We know full well that the factors said here, and will tell your Majesty, that they procured their own freedom and that we did not liberate them, nor even helped to obtain their liberty; but what we have stated here is the truth, and their ingratitude in this matter has much grieved us. And their ingratitude is such that when the five Portuguese went to visit them on their arrival in Canton to offer sympathy with the trials they had endured in prison and to offer their services, stating that they had come solely to procure their release, in accordance with the desire of the Commander, the factor Nathaniel Mountney replied that their worships had come upon business for the Portuguese and not for the English, and that they could return home as he had no need of their favours, and if the Commander had indeed made such proposals to us what was that to a chief merchant of the Commander such as he was, showing thus that he had little respect for him[2].

In Canton, at this time, they presented a petition against us, to the Mandarins[3], in which they spoke of us in most insulting terms, and brought false charges against us, saying that we were their enemies, that we had caused an attempt to be made to burn their ships, that we had put poison into their food killing thereby 60 or 70 of their men and some pigs, and that the ship *London* had left behind a large sum of money, of which we had robbed them, and now refused to pay it[4].

Seeing that all this was false, we sent a protest to them, saying that we had been their friends as far as possible, and proving to them that we had had nothing to do with the attempt to burn their ships, and stating that we knew that only 12 men had died at this port, and that these were ill when they arrived (they having lost from the time of their stay

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[1] See, however, the diary of Courteen's merchants, for a different version of the conduct of the Portuguese envoys (pp. 282—284).

[2] See the diary of Courteen's merchants, 14th October 1637, p. 281, for this incident.

[3] See the "Copy of the second Chapa," dated 7th October 1637 (*Relation* XXVI. p. 279).

[4] This specific charge is not in the "Chapa" noted above.

at Goa to the time they reached Macau 130 men). And if their pigs had died, it was from suffocation, being over fat, for we had lost many at the same time owing to the great heat. Further, that we knew nothing here about money left by the ship *London*, as we do not.

They excused themselves by saying that the Chinaman who wrote the petition added these things of his own accord in his language which they do not understand, and they desired us to believe that the Chinaman was to blame for these things, of which they knew nothing. But when we told them that another Chinaman had in the same way added an insulting term in speaking of them in the petition concerning them, presented by the Procurator of this City to a Mandarin, of which we have spoken previously[1], they never would believe it.

They pleaded very earnestly to be allowed to establish a factory in Canton, and no less with us in Macau, and said that they would pay higher duties to the King of China than we did, this being greatly to our prejudice ; but they told us that not only did they want to carry on trade as we did, but they had endeavoured to induce the Emperor of China to give this trade to your Majesty's English subjects and to deprive us of it, which conduct your Majesty will agree was contrary to loyal friendship. And if your Majesty's subjects, under the cloak of friendship came here to bring these evils upon us, we could not well receive them.

This conduct, and their frequent threats that in years to come they would arrive with many ships to take this commerce from us and their hints that they had a Commission from your Majesty to make war upon us and break the peace, though we had done them no injury whatever, and above all the evidence we had that they intended to take vengeance for the injuries they believed we had done them, by seizing our six vessels from Japan (all of which as they well knew belonged to our King), gave us grave ground for distrust, and we have reported the whole matter to the King our Master as his faithful subjects.

Lastly, there was never any concord between their

[1] See *ante*, in this document, p. 511.

merchants and the Portuguese [envoys]. What the latter did, they undid in the hope of injuring us, nor would they even obey the Mandarins if they thought our Portuguese knew anything of it, thereby running great risk that the Mandarins, who were already angry with them, would refuse to allow them to come away [from Canton], and meanwhile some message might be received from Court from the Emperor [of China], commanding them to be put to death and their property confiscated, as was feared. However, they did come away, more by force than willingly, the five Portuguese having pledged themselves to the Mandarins to deliver them to the Senators of this City, and having promised that the English subjects of your Majesty would give an undertaking that no English should ever again come to these parts, which they did[1]. And we also gave an undertaking pledging ourselves if they did return not to receive them, and to prevent them from entering this port.

So that these contracts might be settled, it was necessary for the Commander to come on shore, this being the wish of the Taquexi who had come to settle this business by order of the Aitao. We therefore dispatched persons of standing to escort the Commander who, with the factors, we entertained for the second time with all the courtesy and kindness of which we were capable.

The business being concluded, we begged them to collect all their people and property and return to their ships, and depart with all possible dispatch, having regard to the Taquexi, as it would be unseemly for him to come and drive them out and we be consenting parties to it. This they promised to do but did not fulfil their promise.

They asked for a few days only in which to buy a few cloves and to send the boats which had come from Canton with their goods down to the ships. We granted their request upon condition that they did not walk about the town in sight of the Chinese, as the Taquexi had not left. They promised to comply but did not keep their word.

As the Chinese were so shocked and so terrified at the English, they would not take the boats to the ships with

[1] Dated 10th December 1637. See *Relation* XXVI. p. 288.

their goods for fear of being taken prisoners, and we were compelled to guarantee that no harm should come to them. Even so, only two boats would go, the others in spite of all our assurances, refused. Even out of this occurrence the chief factor [Nathaniel Mountney] made mischief, saying that it was we who did not wish them to go nor give up their property, although he could see very well the efforts we were making to serve them in this matter.

While their property was being put on board, the chief factor came on shore, without an order from us, with much money and a quantity of cloth, and without our license made a round of the merchants houses, buying and selling. We sent various messages, telling him to return to the ships with his money and goods, for the Mandarins were complaining of this to us and were giving us orders to make him embark. He paid no heed to our messages. On the contrary, he declared that the Mandarins had given no such order, but we were the ones who were making all the trouble. Seeing that he paid no heed to our warnings, we caused a notification to be served on him by the Justices, ordering him to embark forthwith, with all his property, as it would be unreasonable to expect that we should endure for love of him the vexations caused us by the Mandarins, and at the same time tolerate his insulting behaviour, when he was so unreasonable as not even to wish to become amenable to reason.

When the merchandise was all on board, we again offered the Commander any supplies and stores necessary for his voyage which the City could afford ; and we supplied all his needs. May Our Lord bring the ships in safety to your Majesty's kingdom with much profit.

This is a true narrative of what took place between your Majesty's subjects and ourselves in the sequence and manner in which the events occurred, drawn up by those who had full knowledge of them, and based upon letters we received from the English, and on those which we wrote to them, all of which we have sent to our King, with a copy of this, that he may have full information thereof. They on their part should give your Majesty our letters and those they wrote to us, and among these, a protest they presented to us in your

Majesty's name, concerning our refusal to receive them into this port, declaring that we should have to pay to your Royal Exchequer all damages and losses incurred thereby, and that if on this account a rupture of the peace between the Portuguese and English occurred, the blame would lie with us[1]. Of this we took no notice, for not being guilty we feared no punishment.

Lastly, we declare to your Majesty that any ill success suffered by your subjects, either with respect to us or to the Chinese, the blame for it must lie with the chief factor, Nathaniel Mounteney, for his arrogant and evil character and the ill will he bore to us; and we certainly know him to be our enemy, and that if it lay with him, he would break the peace. He spoke very ill of the Portuguese, and whatever happened, he threatened us with your Majesty's vengeance if we did not grant his unreasonable demands; and in no matter that was for the service and welfare of the Portuguese did we find him amenable either in word or deed. He said that he should urge your Majesty to break the peace you had concluded with us, and he acquired this hatred of us because the Commander of this fortress being very busy, was unable to see him one day when he went to visit him. For this factor considered that the same respect is due to him as to the person of your Majesty. Had he known how to win our good will by fair words, perhaps we had served him better, but he offended us so deeply that he deserved to be slighted by us, though we showed him respect, not to be lacking in respect to your Majesty.

On the other hand, to the Commander, John Guedel [Weddell] all praise is due for any success in trade which your Majesty's subjects obtained here and also for the liberation of the merchants from Canton, because, putting aside the fact that anything we did was in the first place done to serve your Majesty, the ships and their cargoes being yours, he, by his natural gentleness, great courtesy, fair speech, prudence in business and patience in trial, greatly facilitated the conclusion of the matter; and he won much from us by the

[1] See the Protest dated 27th September 1637 (*Relation* XXVI. p. 245).

goodwill and affection he showed to the Portuguese nation both in words and deeds. He always spoke most honourably, declaring many times his great desire that the peace should be maintained. And he showed himself competent to understand the arguments we brought forward in these matters, and never failed to show gratitude for the services we rendered. And he promised to report *in extenso* to your Majesty all that we had done for your subjects here, and in all matters undertaken by the Portuguese we received from him at least fair words. He was aware of the injuries which his people had done us, and was greatly astonished at them; and he made us what satisfaction he could.

In a word, by his fair dealings he gained our goodwill and services in this business, so much so that we all loved and respected him, and your Majesty's subjects were indebted to us on his account for many good services. And solely out of love for him, we overlooked many vexations which they caused us. The members of his Council were the cause of much annoyance to him and would not support him with their vote in his dealings with us, nor would they append their signatures to the letters he sent us. Captain Richard Suande [Swanley] in particular opposed him in this matter, who is also no friend of ours, nor did he on this occasion act as a reasonable man. We doubt not that he and the others will bring various charges over there against the Commander, alleging in particular that he acted towards us with excessive submission, for over here the chief factor [Nathaniel Mountney] used to say that he [Captain Weddell] had no capacity for governing or for dealing with the Portuguese, and he threatened him, saying that he would report everything to your Majesty.

For which reason your Majesty should give no credit to the chief factor and should make acknowledgment to the Commander for all of which we have spoken, for verily he appeared to us to be a good subject of your Majesty and one of the most zealous in your service.

May our Lord grant your Majesty health and long life for many prosperous and happy years, as we earnestly desire.

Macau, 24th December 1637.

5. Letter from the Viceroy of India to the King (of Spain), dated 8th August 1638 N.S.

(*Lisbon Transcripts, Books of the Monsoons*, Book 43, fol. 37.)

Sire,

The letters I received from Domingos da Camara, Captain General of China, are dated the 17th of December [1637] and the 1st of January of this year. In these he reports the difficulties of his voyage [to Macao] and gives an account of the fortifications recently erected in that city, and of the complete restoration of others, because of the fear he entertained of rebellion.

He also reported the arrival of the English ships that sought that port and endeavoured to open commerce with the Mandarins of Canton, and of how the Chinese tried to burn their vessels, and of how the said English suspected that the said city was a consenting party because of the total ruin with which they had threatened them. It being, however, quite the contrary, for neither our close vicinity nor the many good deeds which the said Chinese have experienced from us suffice to save us from great evils, labours and penalties, which they are in the habit of bringing upon their ancient guests. And the newly arrived English experienced the same conduct from them, so that there can be no doubt that the Chinese were responsible for the attempt to fire the ships of which they speak, and from which they escaped by skilful manœuvring.

As the said Domingos da Camara writes of certain protests presented to the English and the receipt of a letter from King Charles of England, by whose orders and license they came to these parts, I considered it necessary to have copies made of these letters and aforesaid documents that your Majesty might cause them to be examined, so that, in accordance with their contents, such measures might be adopted as are expedient for your Majesty's service.

The said Commander of the English, John Weddell (of whose arrival at this port I gave notice in a letter last year and of his dealings in Canara) being disabused of the idea that there had been any malice, as he had feared, begged the said Domingos da Camara in the name of the friendship

which existed between your Majesty and his own King, not to deny him necessary supplies, saying that if his ships were allowed to take from Macau to India artillery, copper, munitions, gold or any commodities whatever, either belonging to your Majesty or your subjects, that he would be security for them against the Dutch or any other nation, offering to leave as hostage his own son or any other person, or to give any written bond which would satisfy the aforesaid Captain General or the Administrator of the Royal Exchequer.

And although neither Reimão de Lemos or Domingos da Camara ventured to accept the said security and proposal, as they had no orders from me, nevertheless there was no lack of passengers who came forward with certain commodities, and amongst them Dom Gonçalo da Silveira, a Fidalgo of high rank and of good service. For since the expedition of Governor Nuno Alvares Bothelo, whom he followed in a pinnace, he has remained in southern parts doing good service; and he showed great zeal in the embassies from the City of Macau to the King of Japan, which were the means of removing certain suspicions and ill feelings which might have become more dangerous.

These vessels left Macau at the date mentioned in the letters and documents, and in the Straits of Singapore they came up with a strong Dutch squadron which demanded the delivery of the passengers, the property of individuals and even that of your Majesty. To this the English replied that they must first send their ships to the bottom and cut all their throats before they would surrender the Fathers or any other passenger, or any of their goods.

The Dutch declared that they must show passports from King Charles and from the Protector of Holland, styling themselves with great arrogance Lords of the Eastern Seas and commerce, and conquerors thereof, with other extravagances which so exasperated the English that they began to fix their guns and get ready to defend themselves. But the matter was at last settled amicably, and they were allowed to pass[1]. The Dutch, however, might have prevented them

[1] For Mundy's and other versions of this encounter, see *Relation* XXVII. pp. 321—327.

from doing so, seeing that their ships outnumbered the English. One of the latter put in at Malacca and promptly produced the register of all the cargoes of private persons which the ships carried, for payment of customs, and the same was done in Cochin where the passengers landed; and with the convoy and fleet of Cape Comorin they entered this city.

The Commander wrote bidding me farewell, asking me to acknowledge his punctuality and good service with respect to the passengers, and saying that he desired to put at the disposal of the Spaniards a little vessel which had been sold to him [? them] in Macau before he set sail[1].

With all of which matters I have thought fit to acquaint your Majesty, as I have here done, annexing the papers referred to.

God keep the Catholic person of your Majesty, of whom Christendom has need.

Goa, 8th August 1638.

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[1] The Viceroy is probably referring to the pinnace *Anne* which was sold to the Spaniards while Courteen's fleet was at Macao. See *Relation* XXVI. p. 272 *n.*[4]

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